

BLESSED PETER CANISIUS APOSTLE OF GERMANY

THE real and ultimate causes of the Reformation remain to this day hidden in the Providence of God. Even Mr. Belloc refuses to hazard a conjecture—he is convinced they were mainly supernatural. And so when we speak of the causes of the Reformation here, we do not mean the ultimate causes, rather causes in a Lockian sense—events that immediately preceded it and which seem to have modified the movement and given it certain characteristics. Certain biographers of the heresiarch Luther are fond of the “Luther war ein genie” motif, but it is obvious that the genius of Luther was not of the highest order: it was merely destructive without consistent plan or principle; he went with the stream, the loudest shouter in the mob. If we seek for genius of the constructive kind, far-sighted, prudent and infinitely laborious, we shall find it in Peter Canisius, the man who arrested the course of the Reformation in Germany and saved Austria for the Faith. It was he who perceived the immediate causes of the new movement and attacked its advance at its source. We shall appreciate his work better by glancing at the political and religious conditions of his times.

A merely superficial scrutiny of the history of the period will show us that the so-called Reformation was in the main the Renaissance run to seed. “The Renaissance” itself is a misnomer—anyone would think from the term that learning had been dead; whereas, in fact there had been a steady growth all the time, culminating in the splendour of the Thirteenth Century, and the Renaissance was but a later efflorescence of a particular branch which burst out into a glory of colour. This efflorescence was due to a renewed zest in the study of the Latin and Greek classics, many MSS. of which were newly discovered. It was not at first anti-Christian. The Church had patronized the new learning, with the intention of guiding its course, for she saw dangerous elements in it. Pius II., Nicolas V., Julius II., Leo X., had all done their utmost, whilst fostering the cult of natural beauty, to imbue it with Christian principles. That they in part succeeded is shown in the Humanists in England at that time, Desiderius Erasmus, John Colet, Thomas More, Cardinal Fisher, and in other parts such great names as Rudolph

Agricola, Vegio, Sadolet and Vida. But other devotees of learning shook off the restraints of Christianity and, in Germany especially, there arose a group of younger Humanists, who relapsed into worse than Paganism.

These "After-Christians" gave themselves up entirely to the literary charm of antiquity. And because this charm was but an expression of a pagan civilization, "earthly, sensual, devilish," their minds and their morals alike became corrupt. The world in which they lived seemed to them miserable, barren, artificial, as the world will when the light of faith is quenched. And in the life of their dreams,—the life of the Greek before the coming of "the Galilean"—there and there alone did they think to find truth, beauty and liberty. "Away from the *gothische Barbarei* of the middle ages and back to the *gotterwelt*." This became their shibboleth, the panacea for all their ills.¹ There developed a restless, energetic Individualism—a revolt from authority. Catholicity, whose spirit they ignored, seemed to them a mass of forms, they sought a truer reality in the tangible, the things of experience; they could not understand the high things of God, in search of which so many thought the world well-lost in the cloister. Even the lofty flights of intellect, to which scholastic philosophy led at its best, seemed debarred to them by its formalism. They longed "to leave the barren heath of scholastic speculation and to stray on the green pastures of fact." And alas! they could find support for their naturalism in the spiritual corruption around them. They pointed to the manifest abuses in many of the monasteries of the time as proof of their assertion that the ideal of poverty and chastity is inhuman. They penned their vitriolic satires against the shocking simony and greed in high ecclesiastical places, and mockingly said: "Here surely is a proof of our tenets concerning Individualism. Each man for himself. . . ."

For higher motives the older Humanists joined in the attack on the abuses in the Church organization. Thus Erasmus wrote his bitter "Encomium Moriae" at the house of Thomas More. Still, they aimed at reform, not overthrow; knowing that decay in the superstructure did not in any way disprove that it was Christ who laid the foundations. But others were not so discriminating and their exposure of abuses served to stimulate discontent and helped the pernicious work of the pagan Humanists in Germany and Italy.

¹ Cf. Friedrich Paulsen in "Das deutsche Bildungswesen in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung." Teubner, Leipzig, 1912, page 25 and ff.

Already at the end of the fifteenth century heretics had been openly attacking the faith, because of the unworthiness of those who should have best exemplified it. Thus Wesel said in 1481 concerning the abstinence on Friday, "If Peter did institute it, he must have done so to increase the sale of his fish." As ever, it was covetousness from which all the evil sprang. The obvious signs of avarice in ecclesiastics scandalized the people. Moreover, the German folk at that time deeply resented the supersession of their native laws by the Roman Law introduced by their rulers. They hated the legal corruption that ensued, their national spirit was roused. What was wrong with German Law?—Why drag in Italian methods? And they were burdened with heavy taxes which the Curia imposed on them to pay for Crusades and Papal politics. The monasteries were extending their tax-free lands on all sides, the Bishops were not above usuriously speculating with the revenues and emoluments of their dioceses. This was the inflammable material to the hand of the Humanists. It was easy for them in those days to identify civil with Church abuses, and they had little scruple in doing so. The ecclesiastical trial of Reuchlin, one of their number, which itself revealed the peculation of the Roman courts, served to unite them still more. Hardly was it over, in 1520, when Luther took occasion of Tetzels exactions to disown his spiritual allegiance to Rome. The German Humanists flocked to support him and the popular leader Ulrich van Hutten took his side. In Germany as in England patriotism with diabolical skill was arrayed against Catholicism. Thus what was till then but a theological dispute now developed into a national movement. Hutten was a blood-thirsty demagogue, a sixteenth century Bolshevik. "Will not the Germans take up their arms," he cried, "and make an onslaught on the Church with fire and sword?" Luther echoes the same strain, "Why should not we, with all our weapons, assail these teachers of corruption, these popes, cardinals, and all the rabble of the Roman Sodom, and wash our hands in their blood" [August, 1520]. On 3rd day of January, 1521, Luther and his chief supporters were solemnly excommunicated. On May 20th of the same year Ignatius of Loyola fell wounded at Pampeluna and conceived on his sick-bed the idea of the fighting "Company of Jesus." About two weeks before, one who was destined to be a valiant Commander in that Company, Peter Canisius, had first seen the

light at Nymwegen, now a town in Holland. The lists were being prepared for a struggle which still persists.

At Nymwegen Peter Canisius, the child of wealthy and somewhat important people, spent an uneventful boyhood. Soon after his birth his mother Aegidia died. Later Jacob Canisius, Peter's father, married again. We find Peter writing many years later a warm appreciation of his step-mother. Jacob was a well-to-do lawyer very much respected by all. He was undoubtedly a popular and capable man, for he was made mayor seven times during his public life at Nymwegen. As Peter showed great promise in his studies his father sent him to the "Montaner hochschule," at Cologne, with a view to making a lawyer of him. At first his new-found liberty and company had their too common effect on the lively pleasure-loving boy. But in the midst of his student dissipations he met one who became "indeed my father"—a holy and learned priest, Nicolaus van Esche, one of the Professors at the University. With kind, encouraging words and by sheer force of good example, he guided this hot-headed, conceited lad into quiet and humble ways. To this wise mentor at this critical time is due the final Godward orientation of Peter's energies. Through Esche, who was very friendly with the Carthusian community at Cologne, Canisius was introduced to Joannes Justus Lansberger, a celebrated mystic of the day, one whom Father Richstätter has called "The chief Apostle of the Sacred Heart in Old Germany."¹ We cannot doubt that Peter's marked attraction to this devotion dated from his acquaintance with Lansberger. From the Carthusians, too, he must have drawn his bent towards contemplative prayer; indeed, he admits as much, and from the fact a German Protestant historian draws an interesting if debatable conclusion. "It must be understood," he says, "that the young man now came under the best influence of the Catholic Church—the influence of mysticism. . . . He was influenced by a circle who had much in common with the strong mysticism of the Jesuit Order."² However this may be, we may note that St. Ignatius, too, with all his practical and administrative ability, always had an extraordinary love and admiration for the Carthusians.

The dangers to which he was exposed and from which he

¹ Cf. "Die Herz Jesu Verehrung des Deutschen Mittelalters," by Karl Richstätter, S.J. It was Lansberger who first published a translation of the revelations of St. Gertrude in "Insinuationes Divinae Pietatis."

² Paul Drews in "Peter Canisius," pp. 6 and 7. Schriften des vereins für Reformations Geschichte No. 38. Halle, 1892.

was rescued during his University days made Canisius especially zealous in after life for the religious training of the young at every stage in their career. This zeal makes him a fitting patron for all those engaged in higher studies, that training which needs, as St. Paul warns us, a wholesome humility if it is to be borne safely. On the 2nd of February, 1540, towards the end of his nineteenth year, he took a vow of chastity. His father, ignorant of Peter's aspirations, had chosen for him an attractive bride with a good "dot," but heard of his son's choice with equanimity. The Church, too, afforded a career for the ambitious. But the rich canonry, to which his relatives promised to have him appointed, was as little attractive as the rich bride. The fact was that Peter was already thinking of becoming a religious. Years back a very holy widow of Arnheim had prophesied that he was to join "a new Order." This prediction, we may take it, kept him from entering the Chartreuse to which he felt so drawn, and made him wait patiently and prayerfully for further light.

The light came in January, 1543, when Peter encountered at Cologne one Father Alfonsus Alvaro, a Jesuit novice whom Blessed Peter Faber had sent for his studies to the University. Alvaro, who lodged at the same hostel, told him something of the "new Order," and Peter went to see Faber at Mainz, who promptly subjected the aspirant to that touchstone of sincerity and guide to perfection, the Spiritual Exercises. The result might have been foreseen, though we have few details. Faber mentions in his *Memoriale* a visit to the exercitant during his retreat. But Canisius himself, who at the close of his thirty days' retreat took a vow to enter the Society, wrote from Mainz to a friend that he felt "a transformed man," full of a "renewed vigour." Looking back in his "Testament," written a couple of years before his death, he says, "I sat, as it were, like St. Matthew in the customs house. I perceived clearly the voice of God." The weapon forged out with so many tears and so much prayer in the lonely cave at Manresa had won another brave heart to God.

Canisius was admitted into the Society at Cologne on the 8th of May, Feast of St. Michael, Patron of Germany, 1543. It was his twenty-third birthday. From this day the fighting spirit of the Archangel seemed to become his. In June he was allowed to issue a collection of letters and sermons—"des erleuchten D. Johannis Tauleri." Tauler was a celebrated Dominican preacher and mystic who worked in Germany in

the first half of the fourteenth century. Apart from its subject, the book has an interest as being the first ever published by a Jesuit, the forerunner of that immense array chronicled in Sommervogel's "*Bibliotheca Societatis Jesu*."

After his noviceship Canisius remained at Cologne for several years to help to establish the College founded there partly by his own inheritance, and to finish his theological course. In common with his brethren he endured patiently much persecution on the part of the townsfolk, fearing in those troublesome times that new religious meant new religion, and again, objecting to an increase of tax-exempt institutions. In its dread of heresy Cologne was remarkable amongst the greater German cities. It had always remained true to the Catholic Faith, meriting the title of "the Rome of Germany," and later on, when the authorities realized their character, the Jesuits there were to help in holding the city against Protestantism. Canisius who had already perceived the dangers of excessive humanism, took effective steps against the cult of the pagan classics by editing several volumes of the Church Fathers. He felt, as people now are beginning to feel, that for sublimity of thought and grace of expression, there was no need to confine oneself to pagan literature or even to touch it at all. Unlike Erasmus, who also edited many of the Fathers but whose aims were literary rather than doctrinal, what Canisius wanted was to set forth the continuity of Catholic teaching. He would counteract the spirit as well as the form of the Pagan Renaissance. Ordained in 1546, he took an active part in the deposition of the heretical Archbishop of Cologne, a process which brought him into contact with the Emperor Charles V. and made his name better known to the foremost men of the time. No one was more fully acquainted with the real meaning of the Lutheran revolt and the tendencies of German Humanism than was this young Hollander: no one better fitted with piety and learning to oppose them. We are not surprised to find him, young as he was, sent to the Council of Trent, which had opened the year before, to assist Father Le Jay, but when the sittings were suspended he was summoned to his great joy by St. Ignatius to Rome, to make what corresponds to the modern "third year of probation."

For six months or so, he studied the spirit of the Order under the founder himself. A member of the Roman community writes to Louvain concerning Canisius, "He is indefatigably busy in the practice of humility." For humility

and gentleness were essential to a man who was soon to engage in a relentless struggle with enemies characterized by a colossal pride and an abusive aggressiveness. But first he was to experience the exuberant Catholicity of the South. St. Ignatius sent him in 1547 with some others to found a College in Sicily, when he was made Professor of Rhetoric and added a fluent Italian to his other linguistic attainments. In 1549, however, he was recalled to Rome where he was admitted to his final vows. This marked a turning point in his career. He was convinced that God had special designs for him in regard to Germany and was consoled by a vision of our Lord of which he himself gives a touching account.¹

The occasion of Canisius's recall from Messina was as follows. Wilhelm IV. of Bavaria, a stout Catholic, had asked the Pope for some Jesuit theologians to lecture at the University of Ingolstadt which, like many other scholastic Universities, was in a state of rapid decay. Ignatius sent some of his best—the Tridentine theologians, Le Jay, Salmeron and Canisius. They set out on foot, their first objective being the famous University of Bologna, where St. Ignatius bade them present themselves for the degree of Doctor of Theology. This they each obtained, as it were, in their stride and then set their faces northward again. Canisius, having looked around him at Ingolstadt, was appalled at the state of things. He writes to Polanco, Secretary of the Society at Rome, concerning the paucity and ignorance of the theological students, saying there were only four or five worth lecturing to.² He goes on to complain of the very poor attendance at Mass and the general neglect of fasting and abstinence. The widespread diffusion of heretical books was only too obvious. And all this in the University town of a State whose prince was a fervent Catholic! But Canisius asks for prayers and begins work. He saw at once what was at the root of the trouble. The faith had been discredited both by the formalism and futility of a decaying scholasticism, and by the spectacle of all that was witty and brilliant devoted to the cult of Humanism. It must be restored by showing it in its true splendour and by stripping the paganism which opposed it of its deceptive glamour. Catechetical instruction for the populace, good schools for the young, Catholic Universities restored and reinvigorated

¹ "Epistulae et Acta Canisii," by Father Otto Braunsberger, S.J. I., p. 55.

² It is interesting to note that this letter is in Italian. We find Canisius writing easily in Dutch, French, Latin and Italian as well as in German.

and devoted to the training of an intelligent clergy,—obvious means to those who survey historic causes centuries later, means often overlooked in the actual chaos of the times. Once good pastors of the flock were provided the rest would follow. The people had lapsed from the faith for national more than religious motives. They were just realizing how they had been hoodwinked, and were dazed as to their real position. They could best be helped by indefatigable preaching and popular writing. But above all the Church must rescue the next generation from Protestantism. This could be done only by sending as many as possible to Catholic schools and Universities. Already Canisius had begun to collect alms to maintain poor students at the University. And all his spare time he spent among the students. He was made Rector of the University, and as Rector he at once stopped one source of the prevalent evil by forbidding the importation and sale of writings attacking the Church and her teaching. Next, the Duke appointed him Vice-Chancellor; a canonry went with the office but Canisius refused it. He did much to reform the University and town, and, at any rate, restored Catholic prestige, but greater and harder labours awaited him elsewhere.

Ferdinand I. of Austria, moved by the reformation of Ingolstadt, asked St. Ignatius to send the reformer to Vienna, there to re-establish a similar University, and to bring back the city, nobles and people alike, to the practice of Catholicism. Reform was needed, for Anzini says that barely one-twentieth of the population was Catholic. Canisius had also to administer the diocese, in which some 200 parishes were vacant, and to found a seminary. His success was such as to bring about a danger more dreaded than the threatened violence of the heretics. The Emperor wished to appoint him to the Archbishopric: the Papal Nuncio had the same desire, and it required all Peter's determination to resist their solicitations.

Besides all this ecclesiastical work, Canisius was engaged in providing for the growth of the Society. He founded a house of studies and a noviciate in Vienna before 1556. In the Vienna College for Nobles founded in 1560 Stanislaus Kostka was a pupil four years later. In 1555 a college was opened at Prague. At Ingolstadt he founded a seminary, for the staff of which he had sent him from Rome eighteen Jesuits.

Another work of this period has more than any other con-

tributed to the fame of Canisius,—the composition of his famous Catechism of Christian Doctrine. It was entrusted to him by the University and furnished him employment for about four years. The Emperor prescribed its use throughout all his Dominions. This first Catechism was for advanced students and was followed by two others, one for the "high schools" and the other for the children. We cannot over-estimate the value of these publications. For twenty years the widespread Catechism of Luther had done the utmost harm to the faith. Nothing shows the religious confusion of the time more than the fact that the obvious counter-measures were so long delayed. The need was illustrated by the success of the new Catechism which had an enormous circulation in its various forms. Originally written in Latin it has appeared in seventeen different languages and no less than two hundred editions and still survives as a standard book of instruction.¹ He later published several prayer books and devotional exercises, in which he tried to interest the Catholics of the day in the Liturgy of the Church, so frequently and grossly travestied by the heretics.

The extraordinary development of the Society in Germany, Austria and Hungary caused St. Ignatius, just a month before his own death, to establish the German Province and to appoint Canisius as first Provincial (June, 1556). His humility was up in arms at once and he protested that he was totally unfit for the office. His ingenuity in finding an excuse to decline is shown by his plea that he had recently taken a vow never to choose places or things for himself, and if he was made Provincial he would not be able to keep this vow. Ignatius had an easy answer: "no Religious can make a vow without leave of his Superiors"—which effectually quashed all further resistance. The next few months Canisius spent in visiting the Colleges of his Province and preaching at every opportunity on the way. He rapidly made his name as a "Volksprediger" and thousands flocked to hear him.

Early in 1557 the Emperor Ferdinand held a Reichstag at Ratisbon, and Father Peter was nominated preacher to the Assembly. A conference with the Protestants to be held at Worms was decided upon and to Canisius was given the task of drawing up the questions for discussion. He had little hope of any success from such deliberations, and the event proved him right: the one ground of unity in Christendom is

¹ C.f. "B.P. Canisius als Schriftsteller," by O. Braunsberger. *Stimmen Aus Maria Laach*, Vol. LXXXI., p. 415 seq.

acknowledgment of the rights of Christ's Vicar. However the Diet served to show the fissiparous nature of Protestantism and to close the ranks of the Catholics. Meanwhile Canisius continued his life-work of preaching and catechizing at Dillingen, Cologne and Straubing. We find him preaching as many as four times a week, as well as doing the ordinary work of a missionary, and catechizing children of all ages and conditions. However, in the midst of these labours, after Easter, 1558, he was called to Rome to assist at the election of a successor to St. Ignatius. No sooner was the Congregation over than the Pope bade him accompany a Nuncio journeying to Petrikau, in Poland, where a Diet was to be held to consider a religious *modus vivendi* with the heretics. On foot then he made his way to Poland, preaching to great crowds at every stop on the journey. He arrived just in time to prevent a complete surrender, on the part of King Sigismund, to the Protestants and, before he left, he planted the seeds of a Polish Province by establishing two Colleges. Summoned to Augsburg to be adviser to the Bishop, Cardinal Otto, he was appointed "Dom-prediger" of the Augsburg Cathedral—which meant preaching there every Sunday and Feast-day and daily during Advent and Lent. The change he wrought in Augsburg is nigh inconceivable: he may be said to have reconverted the town. Thus Cardinal Otto writes of him: "Peter Canisius, a doctor most celebrated for his eminent sanctity, his rare learning and for his incredible successes at Augsburg . . . a man of indefatigable labours." In spite of his mission work, his catechizing, visiting, confessional activity, he was constantly writing devotional books, doctrinal and controversial pamphlets, besides carrying on his duties as Provincial. In 1562, in the midst of this breathless activity he was summoned to the resumed Council of Trent, as he said, "like a goose among swans." But the goose proved invaluable, for he was one of the very few there with really first-hand knowledge of Germany. However, he was lent to the Council only for a month, and he was soon back again at Augsburg. In 1565, after the General Congregation, which elected St. Francis Borgia to succeed Laynez, Canisius was chosen by the Pope to convey as Apostolic Legate to the German princes and bishops the decrees of the Council, a commission which enabled him to visit his birth-place, Nymwegen. In the course of his mission he founded a school at Würzburg. At Dusseldörf he converted Prince Wilhelm, a confirmed Protestant. Here he heard of the death

of Paul IV. and concluded his mission was over. Meanwhile another attempt at accommodation between Catholic and Protestant was being made at Augsburg in 1566 and on his return Canisius was plunged into the midst of almost superhuman labours. He was still a young man of forty-five, yet worn out with toil. Writing to the General on his way, he says: "I see clearly that my strength is giving out and that I am not as strong as I was." At Augsburg he acted as adviser to Cardinal Commendone, the Papal Legate, and preached indefatigably. Some time after the Diet he went to Rome to report personally to the Pope on the best means of combating heresy. Always practical, he took occasion to restore the German College there, which became the model of the many national ecclesiastical institutions since established in the Holy City. In 1569 the General relieved Canisius of the burdens of his office as Provincial, partly on grounds of health and partly to allow him to devote himself at the Pope's request to refuting the Lutheran writers of Church History at Magdeburg, called the "Centuriators." The work, which involved much research, was pursued amidst many interruptions due to the general demand for the writer's services in various official capacities. The first part of this refutation dealing with the mission of St. John Baptist, whom the Lutherans claimed as the ante-type of their chief, appeared in 1571, and was hailed as a masterpiece of exegesis, but six years elapsed before the second part, a monumental treatise on the person and office of Our Lady, in five books, saw the light. Scheehen calls this a "classic defence of the whole doctrine of Holy Church about the Mother of God." A third volume, on St. Peter, he laid aside at the suggestion of superiors, who thought they had even better use for his energies and learning in the active labours of the ministry. He was prominent at the Diet of Ratisbon in 1576, but for the most part he lived, preached and taught at Innsbruck till 1580, when, in his sixtieth year, he was sent to evangelize another heresy-ravaged land, the Swiss Confederation, and to combat the doctrines of Zwingli and Calvin, as he had those of Luther. As always, he began by founding a College, that of Fribourg (1580), the negotiations connected with which occupied many years, years of fruitful apostolate which did much to preserve the faith of the Catholic cantons. The College was formally opened in August, 1596, on which occasion Canisius pronounced what was probably his last public discourse. He had already had a stroke, but survived for more than a year, undergoing that process of final purgation

to which God sometimes submits His saints. His work most emphatically lived after him, in the schools and colleges and religious houses and seminaries which thenceforward kept the vineyard supplied with labourers and arrested the process of religious decay in Southern Germany, Austria and Hungary. Brighter days now heralded the coming of the second spring and in 1583 St. Charles Borromeo had written to him and congratulated him on his labours for the Church. A few days before Christmas Day of 1597 he quietly went to his eternal reward. In his hands he clasped a little duodecimo volume in which we find, carefully written out with his own hand, many prayers to the Sacred Heart which he said daily. For he had never forgotten that it was the Sacred Heart of his Lord who had given him his strength and genius, and endowed him with the mystical robe of Love, Peace and Perseverance. For fifty years he had worn this robe of grace to the admiration of all. Who more loving, more lovable than he? His love was Pauline in its breadth, its depth and its height. He loved all his fellow-men—because he saw in them the children of God and the reflection of His glory. In his letters we find him making solicitous enquiries about the missions of the Society, the Indies, Egypt and even of England. Constantly he advises a spirit of love in Catholic controversy—he affirms that our weapon is not that of hatred or abuse but rather the sword of the spirit which is the word of God. Again, Canisius knew full well that Christ's Kingdom could only be established by and with Peace. A German Protestant historian, Friedrich Paulsen, cannot but notice this characteristic in the methods of Canisius. "There is in his activity," he says, "something of the skill and irresistible workings of a Law of Nature—without excitement, without alarms, without agitation, without precipitation." Aye, and something more than the working of natural laws—rather the operation of their Maker, of One who stood on the waters and cried out, "Be of good heart: it is I, fear ye not."

Of his perseverance what more need we say—it is writ large in his strenuous career, in his "journeyings often," in his tremendous correspondence, in every one of the thirty books he wrote. It is in the echo of the thousands of sermons he preached, to Emperor and peasant, to rich and poor, in the Cathedral and on the wayside. It is stamped, finally, in the permanence of his work, the continued fidelity to the Church of those regions he evangelized, the ever-active energy of the Counter-Reformation.

GUY BRINKWORTH.

SOME LETTERS OF JOYCE KILMER

THE "MONTH" for May, 1917, contains a glowing, yet judicious, appreciation of the poetry of Joyce Kilmer by Mr. Hugh Anthony Allen. The bright little essay ends on a note of prophecy: "Over the shoulders of this green old world is rising the dawn of better things in literature and life. And Kilmer is the blithe herald of their coming." These are brave words. In July of the following year Joyce Kilmer, acting as observer for the leading battalion of his regiment, was killed in an action near the Ourcq.

Joyce Kilmer was the most distinguished American soldier to fall in the late war. Two volumes, containing a selection from his poems, essays, and letters, together with a brilliantly written memoir by Mr. Robert Cortes Holliday, appeared a few months after his death, and were among the best-selling books of the season. It was not a flash in the pan. Kilmer was so wholly and so intensely Catholic that his religion showed through nearly everything that he wrote. It is not surprising, therefore, that he is still a popular author among American Catholics, especially, I am glad to say, in our schools and colleges. One might suppose that what commends him to Catholic readers would injure him elsewhere. I do not know whether it is a triumph of his personality or his art, or of both together, that, with what may be described as a flaunting and triumphant Catholicism, Kilmer has always been able to attract the general reader. That the American public has not grown tired of his spell was disclosed in a poll to determine the best ten books published since 1900, conducted last year by the *International Book Review*, of New York. Ballots were cast for 1,201 authors and 2,164 different books. The prevalent type among the voters may be conjectured from the fact that Mr. Wells' "Outline of History" stood highest in the poll. A list of the next 167 titles was published, the last in the column being Woodrow Wilson's "A History of the American People." Francis Thompson's "Poems," I am sorry to say, ranked only 158 in the list; while such popular writers as Mr. W. L. George, and Mr. Frank Swinnerton failed to come within the first hundred. Joyce Kilmer's name was fifty-fourth.

It is needless, perhaps, to state that I attach no conclusive significance to the value of this evidence in testimony of literary worth. But I think it records a remarkable phenomenon. It would seem to indicate that, after six years two volumes of poems, essays, and letters, of a strongly Catholic tone, are still popular in the English language.

This may be surprising information to English Catholic readers. When the news of Kilmer's death appeared, it was probably Mr. Gilbert K. Chesterton who wrote in the *New Witness*: "Multitudes of friends on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as many who have never seen his face, will learn with very real and poignant grief of the death in battle of Joyce Kilmer. Of his remarkable power as a poet we have no need to remind our readers." I should like to believe that Joyce Kilmer is known to multitudes on the Irish and English side of the Atlantic. It would mean that a very salutary leaven was working in the mass of contemporary reading matter. And, especially, it would mean that young Catholic writers had a gracious example to inspire them in the cultivation of the dangerous arts of beauty.

The union of piety and artistic preoccupations is as happy as it is rare. In the belief that it is a kind of concurrence which, as the world goes, attracts attention, and is of special interest to Catholics, I venture to give some extracts from his letters which throw light upon the spirit pervading Joyce Kilmer's life and work. Most of these extracts do not appear in the two volumes prepared by Mr. Holliday.

The letters, from which I quote, cover about six years. They were busy years. Kilmer was only a little over thirty when he was killed. He had married in 1906, the year of his graduation from Columbia University, on little more than a brave confidence in his future. He taught Latin in Morristown for a year and then went to New York where he was one of the editors of Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary for three years.

Since I wrote to you last, I have left the employ of Funk and Wagnall's. . . . My present occupation is that of assistant editor of *The Churchman*, an Anglican weekly paper. It is a church newspaper, with some literary features. I am glad to say that we hope to print some of Miss Guiney's poems this winter. . . . Your remarks, in your last letter, on the fact that many of our most famous writers to-day are anti-Christian, are cer-

tainly justified. Still, do you not think that a reaction is coming? Already we have Chesterton, and Belloc, and Bazin, and Miss Guiney, and Father Vincent McNabb, and a number of other brilliant writers who, not as theologians but purely as literary artists, express a fine and wholesome faith. People are beginning to tire of cheap eroticism and "realism" and similar absurdities. But the flood of putrid literature still pours from the presses. Here on my desk as I write lies "The —," by one X. He is a vulgarian and a liar; his book is written in wretched English; it is full of grotesque and obvious falsities—and it is in its third edition. I have read the book through, and I am so sick of the fellow's cheap blasphemies that I cannot quiet myself enough to review it in printable words. I understand now thoroughly the custom of having books burned by the common hangman. It was not necessarily because the books were dangerous, or likely to lead people astray—it was just because they were essentially evil, things to be put out of the way. Well, we can't have "The —" burned, but you must pray for me to get words fiery enough to consume the book utterly when I review it.

Kilmer after some months left the staff of *The Churchman* and plunged into the journalism of Broadway. He began to lead a very active life, filling three or four positions on newspapers and weeklies, writing poems and articles—he had already published a volume of poems which was well received by critics—often using for his work the greater part of the nights after "commuting" to the little outlying town where he had established his home. One of his children was stricken with infantile paralysis. Months of anxiety were passed by the busy wage-earner and his wife. Then the news came of their entrance into the Church. I may mention that his wife, Aline Kilmer, is widely known as a poet of fine and delicate distinction. Shortly after his conversion, he writes:

The Church refuses to live up to its reputation. In the first place, no one ever tried to proselytize me. I hung on the edge, but my Catholic friends would not push. I had to jump. And now that I am in, the Church still refuses to live up to its reputation. I was warned that I would be shocked by the begging of the parish clergy.

I wish I could find a real begging priest. My pastor begs not half enough. Seriously, I think the Church is slandered more by educated Catholic laymen than by Protestants. Even when I was a Protestant, I was pained by some things that Catholics of my acquaintance said about the Church. Surely there should be reticence about family scandals.

Of course you understand my conversion. I am beginning to understand it. I believed in the Catholic position, the Catholic view of ethics and æsthetics, for a long time. But I wanted something not intellectual, some conviction not mental—in fact I wanted Faith. Just off Broadway, on the way from the Hudson Tube Station to *The Times* Building, there is a church, called the Church of the Holy Innocents. Since it is in the heart of the Tenderloin, this name is strangely appropriate—for there surely is need of youth and innocence. Well, every morning for months I stopped on my way to the office and prayed in this church for faith. When faith did come, it came, I think, by way of my little paralysed daughter. Her lifeless hands led me; I think her tiny still feet know beautiful paths. You understand this, and it gives me a selfish pleasure to write it down.

In another letter about this time:

My wife and I are very comfortable now that we are Catholics. I think we rather disappointed the priest who received us by not showing any emotion during the ceremony. But our chief sensation is simply comfort—we feel that we are where we belong, and it's a very pleasant feeling.

And a little later on:

I need some stricter discipline, I think, and it's hard to get it. I enjoy my confessor's direction very much; he is a fine old Irishman with no nonsense about him. But I need to be called a fool, I need to have some of the conceit and sophistication knocked out of me. I suppose you think this is "enthusiasm"—that much-heralded danger of converts. Perhaps it is, but I don't think so. I know I'm glad I live two miles from the church, because it's excellent for a lazy person like myself to be made to exert himself for religion. And I wish I had a stern mediæval confessor—the sort one reads about in anti-

Catholic books—who would inflict real penances. The saying of Hail Marys and Our Fathers is no penance, it's a delight.

After this letter the discerning reader will not have to be informed that Kilmer had a conscience peculiarly delicate without being unduly scrupulous. I had frequent occasions of surprise over the sensitiveness of conscience which he preserved in occupations popularly supposed to destroy spiritual refinements. He was a daily communicant. One evening during a visit he told me that he had been reading that day an article which appeared on the first page of a reputable newspaper. He began to realize that he should not continue reading, and he cast the paper aside; but he was not sure whether he had acted promptly enough, and might he receive in the morning? Although very substantial and cheerful in appearance, he impressed everyone with a sense of purity and spirituality. Mr. Richard Le Gallienne noted this fact in an article shortly after Kilmer's death: he ends a long description of his first meeting with Kilmer with these words: "I must not omit from my impression the feeling of an unaccustomed contact with vigorous purity, again masculine, not feminine, purity."

To go back to the letters.

Did I tell you my confessor sent me to Mgr. Mooney (Vicar-General of the Diocese) to get permission to read anti-religious books and magazines? I am obliged to read them in my work, you know. Mgr. Mooney told me to go ahead and read them if I had to.

A school-room essay on his poems sent to him from a convent drew the following acknowledgment:

Your generous and well-phrased appreciation has made me happy, and I am grateful. I hope and pray that I may never write anything unworthy to be read by you.

Joyce Kilmer found genuine pleasure, I think, in giving readings and lectures. The popular demand for them grew every year, and he found in them recreation and a welcome means of eking out an income for an increasing family. He enjoyed Catholic audiences; but, in starting out as a Catholic lecturer, certain reluctances had to be overcome.

I'll probably lecture before Catholic organizations as well as secular ones, but I don't want to for reasons you

will understand. In the first place, I don't want in any way to make money out of my religion, to seem to be a "professional Catholic." In the second place, I have delight chiefly in talking veiled Catholicism to non-Catholics, in humbly endeavouring to be an apostle to Bohemia. For instance, I'd rather smash an evil book by X. in *The Times* than praise a good book in *America*. I have no real message for Catholics; I have Catholicism's message to modern pagans. So I want to lecture chiefly to pagans.

In the summer of 1916 he met with an accident on the railway at the little country station near his home:

It may interest you to know that I had received the Blessed Sacrament half an hour before the train struck me, and that to this fact I attribute my escape from death—since at the place where I was struck several men have been killed, being thrown forward and under the wheels, instead of (as I was) to one side.

His practice of daily Communion made it necessary to go into New York without his breakfast and to have his morning coffee at a restaurant. He was living in Mahwah, New Jersey, two hours by rail from New York. He wore his piety without heroics:

Terribly pious, I am. You won't know me when you see me. Probably I'll sit around and lecture you all the time. Daily communicant and all that sort of thing. And I find all other daily communicants are funny old women with disreputable bonnets and two clanking rosaries apiece. They clatter up to the rail leaning on canes and pray audibly.

He was always ready to improve the frequent opportunities which came to him of urging the claims of Catholic literary merit.

By the way it may interest you to know of an experience I had recently with Warner's Library of the World's Best Literature. This is, as you undoubtedly are aware, a monumental work founded by the late Charles Dudley Warner. It is supposed to represent adequately all the world's greatest writers, and the biographical and critical articles are supposed to be authoritative. The list of editors is most imposing, and when I was asked to

contribute to the revised edition articles on Cawein, Masefield, and Moody, I was much pleased. Out of curiosity, I asked the editor who was writing the article on Francis Thompson. To my amazement I found he had not thought of including Thompson! I am glad to say that I succeeded in persuading him to include an article on Thompson. I am writing it and selecting four or five pages of extracts from Thompson to accompany it. Do you think that some of Thompson's prose should be included, or only his verse?

In a letter, dated May 19th, 1917, he writes:

I resigned from the Officer's Reserve Training Corps and enlisted in the Seventh Regiment, National Guard, New York, as a private.

Joyce Kilmer has been the object of some disapproval for taking this step. He had a wife and five children depending upon him for their support, and there was no urgency for a sacrifice which involved others as well as himself. And, as afterwards transpired, once in the army and at the front he deliberately sought the most perilous employments. My own explanation, which space will not permit amplifying, is that Joyce Kilmer acted at this time from spiritual motives at least as much as from patriotic motives. As for his family, he had received what seemed to be the most reliable assurances that they would be provided for in the event of his death. If misunderstanding on this score developed afterwards, he could not possibly have foreseen it.

In the letter announcing his enlistment, after telling about certain courtesies he had received, he proceeds:

On the whole I'm too well treated—it's likely to turn my head. That's why it's good for me to be a private and be bossed around by a young snip of an officer I wouldn't hire as an office boy. Every drill night I have about 300 exercises in humility—every time the sergeant says, "Get your belly in!" "Hold up your head!" "Say, that's a gun you're carrying, not a hod!"

He seldom thereafter referred in his letters to the hardships of his soldier life. He obtained a transfer from the Seventh to Sixty-Ninth, the Irish Regiment of New York, principally because it had a Catholic chaplain and was predominantly Catholic and Irish, a combination which always

attracted him. His regiment was a part of the Rainbow Division which was one of the earliest to go overseas. On the eve of its departure, his favourite child, the crippled Rose, died, and another child was born. It was a difficult time. He refers to the "eight hours a day of violent physical exercise (most deadening to the brain, a useful anodyne to me, coming as it did after my grief)," and that is all one hears of the sordid horrors of war, especially during the regiment's first winter in France. His letters were for the most part full of good humour and high spirits. The last lines of a short poem sent home from the front tells us much:

Lord, Thou didst suffer more for me
Than all the hosts of land and sea.
So let me render back again
This millionth of Thy gift. Amen.

Even if it be granted that the radiant presence of Joyce Kilmer is still a vivid memory, influencing those who knew him to set too high a value upon his literary work, it is nevertheless true that his writings disclose an extraordinary personality in which amiable human qualities, literary activity and ambition, and high natural virtues, were fused with a scrupulously exact Catholic and supernatural life and faith. This alone should keep him from dropping into oblivion among Catholics. It is not often that the febrile pursuits of journalism and literature produce a popular writer who can be cited as an example and an inspiration in the great and the small Catholic fidelities. These words, written in one of his last letters to his wife and appearing in the two-volume work to which reference has been made, might well be framed and hung on the wall wherever writing talent is labouring for mastery in the art of expression:

If what you write does not clearly praise the Lord and His Saints and Angels, let it praise such types of Heaven as we know in our life—God knows they are numerous enough. I can honestly offer "Trees" and "Main Street" [the titles of the two volumes of poems which he published after he had become a Catholic] to Our Lady, and ask her to present them, as the faithful work of her poor and unskilled craftsman, to her Son. I hope to be able to do it with everything I write hereafter—and to be able to do this is to be a good poet."

JAMES J. DALY.

THE VIRGIN'S FOUNTAIN

SITUATED in the Kedron valley, the traditional Valley of Josaphat, beneath the shadow of the Temple walls of old Jerusalem, is a spring which Christian tradition knows as the "Virgin's Fountain." It gushes out from the earth at the bottom of the valley outside the south-east corner of modern Jerusalem; but in the days of old when the Holy City lay further to the south it lay beneath the eastern ramparts of David's City. The spring is laden with interest, natural and historic. In the first place it possesses the distinction of being Jerusalem's only spring, and from this fact one may estimate the importance of the part it has played in the life of this ancient city, situated in the heart of a land where water is as precious as it is scarce. Indeed, we may go so far as to say that Jerusalem owes its existence to that spring; without it the city would never have been built, as it is built, on the very edge of the Judean wilderness.

In the days of David, a thousand years before the Christian era, the spring went by the name of Gihon, a Hebrew word meaning "a bursting forth," which is also the name given to one of the four rivers of Paradise. At that time it was evidently a place of renown in David's City, being the place designated for the anointing of Solomon as king over Israel. Certainly it was a place which had contributed to David's success, for in all probability it was by means of a shaft connecting the spring with the interior of the city that Joab, David's general, stole in secretly and opened the gates to the besieging Israelites.¹ The Jebusites had sunk this shaft from the hillside within the walls in order to be able to obtain water in case of a protracted siege, for as we have seen the spring was at the foot of the hill and therefore outside the ramparts.

It seems either that this manner of getting at the water from within the city was not very practicable or else that the shaft was blocked up or forgotten, for 300 years after the time of David we find Ezechias endeavouring to safeguard his water supply by fresh means. He it was who cut the famous tunnel through the rock on which Jerusalem was built in order to conduct the waters of Gihon into the city. He

¹ Cf. II Kings v. and I Paral. xi. This shaft was excavated some years ago.

was threatened with a siege by the army of Assyria, probably led by Sennacherib, and siege was always a serious matter for Jerusalem. Sennacherib did actually march on the city during his campaign of 701 B.C., and he boasts in his famous inscription of having "shut up Ezechias like a bird in a cage." But Ezechias was not taken by surprise. He foresaw the danger of being shut up in his city, cut off from his water-supply, and undertook the task, gigantic for those days, of connecting the spring of Gihon with the Pool of Siloe, a reservoir within the southern limits of the city, by means of a subterranean tunnel pierced through the rock for a distance of nearly 600 yards. This done he blocked up the way to the spring, which thus became *fons signatus*, "the sealed fountain." The Assyrian siege was unsuccessful.

Later generations unsealed the spring, probably at the time when the lower part of Jerusalem, surrounding the Pool of Siloe, fell into ruins. In Christian days it received the title which it now bears,¹ a pious legend making the Blessed Virgin come hither to wash her Baby's clothes. Now since it is the unique spring at Jerusalem whither the native women of the vicinity still come to wash their clothes, and since the house of St. Anne is just inside the walls only a few hundred yards up the hill, the legend has at least a foundation of probability.

Such is its historic interest; but it has a natural and scientific interest of great value. As we have said, it is situated at the bottom of the valley of the Kedron, while the southeastern pinnacle of the city wall towers on high a hundred yards above, crowning the precipitous hill. Nothing marks the presence of the spring externally. It is reached by a descent of thirty-two rock hewn steps leading into the bowels of the earth. At the foot of the steps appears a limpid stream of cold sparkling water which flows from some apparently inexhaustible supply within the earth. The flow, however, is not regular but intermittent. By a curious phenomenon the water bursts forth in abundance periodically—once a day in fact—then gradually fails until the hour which marks the rising of the spring comes around anew. To the unscientific mind of the eastern peasant there is something in this which speaks of the preternatural; the regulation of

¹ The natives call it *Umm ad-Daraj*, "the Mother of the Steps," on account of the descent of 32 steps by which it is reached.

the flow of water looks like the work of some hidden personal agency.

The true explanation, of course, is very simple. The phenomenon is due to syphonic action. The rain which falls in abundance on the hill of Jerusalem during the winter months filters its way slowly through the rock on which the city is built, collecting in a natural cavity within the hill made by rock formation. This cavity is situated above and connected with the spring by a narrow channel cut by nature through the rock. Judging from results this channel or tube must start from a point lower than the brim of the cavity, then rise for some distance, finally descending to the spring. The result is that as the cavity fills in consequence of filtration, the water rises also in the tube until that height is reached at which the tube descends to the spring. Once the tube is filled with the descending water the principle of syphonic action comes into play and the water continues to flow until the cavity is emptied as far as the mouth of the tube. The action is very quick, the spring rising suddenly eight or ten feet and sometimes more in a few seconds, and a great mass of water descends, for the basin filled by the spring measures between 700 and 800 cubic feet.¹ The flow then ceases until, as a result of continued filtration, the cavity within the hill is once more filled. An average year's rainfall, that is about 22 inches at Jerusalem, is sufficient to supply the spring in this manner all the year round, though six months of the year are rainless and hot.

Such is the explanation given by scientists to account for the phenomenon. But the *fellahin* of Palestine know nothing of syphonic action, and even if they saw it in all its processes it would still appear to them mysterious. The fact that the native of Jerusalem—Jebusite, Jew and Arab—has witnessed this phenomenon and benefited thereby during the course of the forty centuries or more that have elapsed since the city was built over this spring does not take away from its mystery. He is very quick to see supernatural agency, and when we bear in mind the value attached to water in the East by reason of its scarcity, remembering the terrible hardship that follows a season of drought, there is no cause to be surprised that water is regarded as Heaven's especial gift, more especially in the case of Jerusalem whose perennial

¹ Meistermann: "Guide to the Holy Land," p. 246.

fountain is at its very gates. One has seen villages in Palestine where the women have to journey for miles in order to draw water from some none too wholesome cistern or well filled by the rain.

Among the *fellahin* who dwell near and utilize the "Virgin's Fountain" is preserved a mythical tradition which has its roots in the dim ages of the past. They sometimes name it the Dragon's Well, accounting for the rising and falling of the water by the presence of a mythical serpent which by turns swallows and belches forth the water of the spring. Possibly those who believe this are few, but in telling the story they preserve a very old tradition which was already current in early Jewish times. Nehemias in the fifth century B.C. makes reference to a Fountain of the Dragon which must be looked for along this valley, but, in our opinion, lower down towards the south (II Esdras ii. 13). Now it is lower down the valley that we must look for the Stone of Zohemoth, translated by many "the Stone of the Serpent," to which reference is made in the first chapter of III Kings in the narration of events occurring during the eleventh century B.C. The precise meaning of *zohemoth* is a matter of dispute, but its connection with the verb *zahal*—"to shrink back or crawl away," is evident. *Zahal* in Aramaic is "the worm," and *zohlo* in Syriac is the crawling "locust." The name *zuweleh* is preserved in the Arabic dialect used by the natives of the village of Silwan (Siloam) built over against the "Virgin's Fountain," and they apply it to a rough flight of steps in the rock leading down from the village to the spring.

For these reasons some would place the Stone of Zohemoth and the events of III Kings i. here by the spring. But others, with good reason finding it impossible to fit in those events with so close a proximity to the city, look for the Stone of Zohemoth by a deep well known as Job's Well (*Bir Ayoub*) a few hundred yards further down the valley. This would seem to be a better situation for the Fountain of the Dragon to which Nehemias makes reference. Moreover this appellation would apply very appropriately to Job's Well, for here also occurs a phenomenon similar to that which takes place at the spring above. After a good season when the winter rains have fallen in abundance the water in this well reaches and maintains for a period a certain level at which it causes a spring to come gushing up from the ground a dozen yards

away. The cause and the effect are clearly related; but the *jellahin* who depend on this well for their gardens and hence for their life think chiefly of the significance which this event has for them. It does not occur every year, and when it does occur it is a sign of a year of fruitfulness and is greeted with wild rejoicings. This is considered a benediction which comes either from God or from some well-disposed superior being—according to one's ideas on the subject. If a former generation of dwellers in this valley attributed it to the mythical serpent as the moderns do in the other case, it would be far from unnatural. The part played by the serpent in oriental mythologies is very remarkable.

To return to the Virgin's Fountain, a further interest is added by the reputation it bears among the natives round about of being possessed of health-restoring properties. They¹ are in the habit of bathing themselves with the water of the spring as a cure for their diseases. Without doubt this pure sparkling water must help to cure many an ailment which results from lack of cleanliness. But their confidence in the healing powers of the spring does not arise as a conclusion of that kind. It seems more probable that it comes to them as an heirloom of great antiquity, either connected with the mysterious nature of the spring, or more probably inherited from Christian traditions regarding miraculous cures that have taken place in one or other of the pools of the Holy City.

While speaking of the phenomenon of the movement of the water at the "Virgin's Fountain," our thoughts can hardly escape turning to the story in St. John's Gospel² of the crowd of blind and lame who waited at the pool for the moving of the waters in the belief that the first who entered the water thus moved might be cured. The evangelist does not say that each one so doing was actually cured; in fact he passes no judgment at all about the question of whether or not the waters of this pool had healing powers. The verse which states that "an angel of the Lord descended at certain times into the pond and the waters were moved" is omitted from the best of the earliest MSS. of the Gospel; and although Tertullian and other early Fathers would seem to be in favour of its inclusion, Calmes, after weighing the evidence on both

¹ Jews also bathe at the rising of the waters as a cure for rheumatism.

² Chap. v. 4.

sides, concludes that the passage is probably an interpolation.¹ Nor does our Lord say anything about the sick man's belief but cures him without recourse to the water.

Where was this pool? Some, struck by the phrase about the moving of the waters, have sought a pool connected with the "Virgin's Fountain," on the ground that such a pool would naturally suffer a disturbance of its surface as often as the water poured copiously into the spring. There is such a pool, as we have seen above, namely, the Pool of Siloe connected with the spring by the tunnel of Ezechias. Hither our Lord sent the man born blind, who "went and washed and saw."² To-day it presents a very mean appearance, but in the early centuries of Christianity it was a sacred place, covered by a basilica, where many a sick pilgrim must have bathed in imitation of the blind man. Formerly, when it was clean and well-kept with a constant supply of water in its basin, as must have been the case in the days of Ezechias and long after, there is no doubt that a distinct troubling of the surface must have been noticeable at the time of the periodic rising of the spring at the other end of the aqueduct. We may picture the effect on the water of the pool by the help of the following description of the phenomenon at the spring given by an eye-witness:

For nearly an hour I sat there [at the "Virgin's Fountain"] "waiting for the moving of the waters," but still no water came. . . . At length at a quarter to twelve, the old woman down the pit (handing up the water) got tired and scrambled up, and a young girl went down to do the baling. Scarcely had she vanished into the hole when suddenly her head reappeared; she came clambering out in the utmost haste, sounding the shrill "zaghârit," and all the women set up a great scream. Silently, swiftly, the water rose in the well, rushing up the eight or ten feet in a few seconds, and beginning to flow down the tunnel in which I was standing. . . . Very soon, however, it reached the top of my boots, and I took refuge on the bottom step. It rose to this level also; but beyond that it did not come. There was quite sufficient water, however, for the stream to go rushing down Hezekiah's Conduit on its way to the Pool of Siloam, and one

¹ "Commentary on St. John's Gospel," p. 220.

² John ix.

could well understand how, upon its reaching that pool, a considerable troubling of the surface would take place.¹

All this would fit St. John's story very well except for one detail: the evangelist gives the name of the scene of our Lord's miracle. He calls it the Pool of Probatica, in Hebrew the Pool of Bethsaida, Bethesda or Bethzatha, according to the variants of the MSS. Now most people agree that the Pool of Probatica was on the top of the hill by the northern gate of the city leading into the temple, so called perhaps because it was near the Probatic or Sheep Gate, as this northern gate was called. By that way, possibly, passed the sheep and lambs intended for the sacrifices; or more probably, that gate was used as the sheep-market, as to this day is Herod's Gate, which corresponds in modern Jerusalem to the position occupied by the Sheep Gate in the ancient city—that is, it is the entrance from the north. But there is no question of any connection between the Probatic pool and the Virgin's Fountain, which is a hundred yards lower in level; moreover, on account of the former's high position, it is most unlikely that the moving of the waters therein was due to any such cause as operated in the "Virgin's Fountain." Whether, therefore, it was due to the opening of a sluice or to some supernatural agency we cannot now determine.

REGINALD GINNS, O.P.

¹ "Text and Testament," H. Rix, p. 242—244.

THE BATTLE OF THE BOOKS

THE conflict between the Faith and the various forms of unbelief registers itself over the whole field of civilized life. The discerning eye will be able to mark the stages of the conflict by noting the tendencies in departments so remote from one another as architecture and economics. The facts that a certain decadent school of artists has lost favour, or that a film, dealing in sympathetic fashion with convent life, has been well received are not to be ignored as signs of the times. Unimportant in themselves, they may be taken as revealing the drift of public opinion and as indices to the deeper life of the nation. The triumph of the Faith is bound to make itself felt throughout the length and breadth of human interests. It cannot be confined to the mysterious depths of individual souls, but must issue forth to change the face of the world. The story of the early victories of the Church over the paganism of the Roman Empire includes more than the record of conversions and martyrdoms; it is concerned also with the gradual permeation of social life with the Christian spirit. Old customs are transformed or abolished. The philosophies of the ancient world are seen undergoing a subtle change at the hands of Catholic thinkers. Literature reveals the advancing tide of Faith. As the centuries succeed one another the whole character of western civilization takes the colour of the now dominant religion. This social, intellectual, and artistic environment reacts in its turn upon the individual, who may still cling to the old religion. He finds it increasingly difficult to escape the influences of the new regime. His daily life is hemmed in by objects which press upon his attention the verities of Christianity. The laws governing his political existence, the disputes of the schools, the buildings he admires, the books he reads, silently but effectively mould his mentality. However stoutly the inner citadel of his being may resist the encroachments of the Church, its outer works are captured with scarcely a struggle, and thus the new spiritual forces are placed in a strategic position for an attack on his conscience and affections.

The same process has, unfortunately, to be repeated to-day in the case of the "After-Christian." The Renaissance

flooded Europe with pagan influences that, even now, have not been subjugated. There were those who did valiantly in assimilating, in the name of Catholicism, the knowledge then made available, and using it in the interests of a truly Christian culture. We think with gratitude, in this connection, of our own Blessed Thomas More and many others of a like mind. But their numbers were too few. The forces arrayed against them, allied with a rabid nationalism and swollen by sensuality, were too strong for them. The old gods, under new names, resumed their sway over large areas that had once bowed to the authority of St. Peter. Old heresies, defeated long centuries before, came to life in fresh forms, and carried away multitudes of unsuspecting folk. The results were not long in showing themselves in social life. A new class had arisen whose lawful gains were reinforced and self-importance inflated by the fruits of spoliation carried out at the cost of religious houses. The industrial revolution gave them a still further opportunity of increasing their wealth. Commercial and industrial life accepted new standards less scrupulous as regards the rights of the poor. The race for profits made impracticable the more leisurely and conscientious methods of the past. The machine drove out the craftsman and his whole manner of life.

In other departments of life the same effects were witnessed. Not only commerce and industry became divorced from the Church, literature and art shared the same fate. The stage no longer represented the themes of sacred story. Artists ceased to paint for the glory of God and the enrichment of churches. Poetry served a pagan muse. So far has the process gone that at times it seems almost impossible to hope that the Catholic Faith will ever again control those spheres of human activity which were once hers but now govern themselves, boasting that they look to no religious or moral authority. "Business is business," "art for art's sake," "my country right or wrong," are the slogans that proclaim this independence and are repeated with an assurance that despises those who would dispute their truth. Yet the conversion of England, for which we pray, includes the recovery of these lost spheres of influence. It includes them because a conversion of English men and women that left English civilization unchanged would be a poor thing. It includes them, also, because we need these allies of the market, the studio and the press if we are to reach out to such as more

direct means must fail to impress. The conversion of persons is, to some extent, dependent on the conversion of things.

And, of all the things which have to be converted, none is so important as literature. The recovery for the Faith of this country must involve a "battle of the books." In saying that I do not suggest a wordy warfare after the manner of the theological controversialist. It is not of works of a distinctly propagandist character I am thinking, unless indeed Mr. Chesterton's acute and genial banter be described in those terms. It is possible to conceive of a literature, permeated with the Catholic spirit and carrying on every page the impress of the author's faith, that yet should scarcely refer explicitly to the Church and its heritage. There is no necessity to demand of such writers as I have in mind that their subject matter shall differ from that of other writers. The characteristics needed are such as should be, in the case of a Catholic, inevitable, qualities so interwoven with his personality that it should be impossible for him to hide them whatever might be his theme or the genre in which he worked. This will appear more plainly when we come to consider the examples which illustrate our thesis.

Controversial or propagandist literature, then, is ruled out of the present discussion. Nor do we want a "school" of Catholic writers. The ground to be covered is too wide and the need of numerous individualities, each working freely according to the laws of his own being and of his own particular form of art, is, in this connection, too obvious for that. There is always something suggestive of pedantry and doctrinaire self-consciousness about a band of writers deliberately conforming to the principles of some cult. The more spontaneous were a Catholic literature such as we desiderate the more effective would it be. It will accentuate this point if we note the fact that some of those who best exemplify our meaning were not themselves personally within the Fold.

Shakespeare's own faith is a matter of controversy. For the sake of argument we may accept the common opinion that he conformed (with what degree of cordiality cannot be determined), to the "Reformed" Religion. That religion, however, was new, and literature gathers its inspiration from ancient and sub-conscious sources. That it did so in his case, there can be no doubt. It would be idle to pretend that a movement which, a generation later, was to decry the drama altogether, gave the impetus to the outburst of

dramatic genius which glorified the Elizabethan age. Shakespeare owed much to the Renaissance which, throughout Europe, in countries Catholic to the core as well as in those which had been swept by the "Reformation," had awakened the minds of men and given them larger mental horizons. But he was indebted also, in large measure, to the ancient traditions of Catholicism into which his ancestral roots went down. We are surely justified in seeing a connection between the universality of his outlook on humanity and the Catholicity of the Church to which for centuries his forefathers had belonged. The connection has not been lost even on non-Catholic critics. It is Matthew Arnold who, speaking of the appeal which the Church makes to all classes and types, likens its membership to the "pell-mell of men and women in Shakespeare's plays." To reverse that comparison and to speak of those who crowd the dramatist's pages as resembling the "pell-mell of men and women to be found in the Catholic Church" is not illegitimate. It is more than relevant, in discussing this characteristic of our greatest poet, to recall the fact that, however Protestant might have been his immediate surroundings, his roots, as we have pointed out, went deep into Catholic soil. Nor is his universality the only quality which bears evidence of that fact. If it is difficult to define those qualities, it is only for the same reason that makes it difficult to define the spirit of Catholicism itself. We are dealing with atmospheric effects and must be content with statements which, while to the sympathetically minded convincing, to others will seem merely examples of special pleading. Yet it is difficult to see how the Shakespearean temper can be related to religious changes which did so much to sour the English character and were, so soon after, to cast their gloomy shadows over the devout and sunny spirit of the youthful Milton. Let us take it then that Shakespeare illustrates, on the largest possible scale, our meaning when we speak of a literature which, without being controversial or pedantically doctrinaire, shall be essentially Catholic in tone and temper. Obviously he is not, however, the only example. It seems to be generally granted that, as regards his social and moral outlook, Dickens did much to anticipate a Catholic revival. His occasional lapses into sentimentality, it is true, are in contradiction to this judgment but, on the whole, it may be accepted. Mr. Chesterton has dealt so fully with the subject and pressed his view so successfully

that the point need not be laboured. Even less necessary is it to remind ourselves of the debt which any future recovery of the Catholic spirit in literature would owe to Sir Walter Scott. Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, alongside with other and very different tendencies, we can detect the growth of a movement the end of which can surely be nothing less than the Catholic Renaissance for which we plead. Mr. Chesterton himself, in his personal development, seems to illustrate several stages in the period of transition through which we have been passing. The crowning fact of his conversion brings us, we should like to think, in the person of an outstanding representative of twentieth century thought, to the actual beginnings of the movement with which we are concerned. In reviewing these names and recalling the characteristics of the works associated with them we have been enabled, not only to see more clearly what is implied in this hoped-for capture of the field of literature, but, in some measure, to witness the beginnings of that process of conquest. It is for the younger generation to carry the flag another stage forward.

In spite of the tendencies to which attention has been called, it is not too much to say that our present literary output is either too colourless to deserve any sort of cultural designation or is frankly pagan. To make unfashionable the sensual, morbid, restless and cynical tone now prevalent will demand prolonged and heroic effort, and only the conviction that the stars in their courses are fighting for us can embolden us to undertake the task. We have, it is true, great memories to encourage us. We may look back to those beginnings in our history, to which reference has already been made, when the infant Church was struggling for existence in the midst of a pagan civilization. Our own age is more complicated than were those far off times, and we may be tempted to argue that the conditions to-day are so different that we have no right to expect a repetition of that first victory. Ultimately hope must fall back on the resources of faith. It is surely in the will of God that the kingdoms of this world, cultural as well as political, shall become the Kingdom of Our Lord. The Church is committed to the task of conquering the whole field of human interests and activities. There can be no doubt as to the sufficiency of our equipment as Catholics. The vastness of our resources makes us ashamed of the poverty of our labours. We are the inheri-

tors of a tradition the merest acquaintance with which should be an inspiration. The teaching and discipline of the Church are such as should produce supple and sinewy minds with wide range and deep insight. The history of our past and the destiny marked out for us in the future are calculated to bestow the gift of vision. Trained under a Mother so wise in all the secrets of the heart how can we fail in our knowledge of human nature! No society in the long story of mankind has ever displayed a spirit of greater creative power than the Church. Genius flourishes on her soil. On that score we need have no fear.

There remains the need of personal dedication to the task, and here we meet an enemy whom we have already encountered in this brief summary. The "Reformation," we have seen, was in alliance with the new class to whom the profits of labour were more important than its dignity or joyfulness. The last few centuries have seen the steady growth of machinery and the equally steady decline of the craftsman. Under the influences that have been regnant during this period, the professions too have shown a disposition to become trades. The profession of letters has not escaped these general tendencies. Journalism is almost wholly a trade. Literature maintains its freedom only through the special privileges of the fortunate ones independent of commercial considerations or through those few of heroic mould who refuse to barter away their souls. If the flood of paganism is to be stemmed it is this last class that has to be augmented. We seem to have lost the serious spirit in which certain of the Victorians took up the work of authorship. Perhaps they were too solemn in their profession of writing with a purpose. The sense of vocation was over self-conscious. Conscientiousness exhibited a strain which eventually reached breaking-point and left our literary class without moral guidance or inspiration. We need not go back to what came so dangerously near priggishness. But there is room for a revived sense of vocation in the profession of letters. The Catholic author who, when he takes up his pen, forgets his Catholicism is, indeed, escaping difficulties that may well daunt him, but he is escaping also a magnificent opportunity of assisting in the conversion of his countrymen and, in addition, denying his art its supreme inspiration.

The present offers a unique opportunity to those of combatant faith and literary powers. The enemy, it is true, is not

yet "on the run," but his ranks waver and break. The truculence of the hedonist is taken less seriously. Already the more sordid type of realism with which nineteenth century readers were made familiar has disappeared. Swinburne's hectic sensuality has worn thin. Those who, a few decades ago, discovered in the cosmic sentimentality of Whitman evidences of the supreme prophet of democracy are manifestly less certain of their creed. Everywhere is confusion and indecision. No dominant tendency co-ordinates the various schools. Literature drifts from phase to phase of experimentation without leadership. That such leadership should be given by Catholics deriving their driving power and inspiration from their Faith is not an impossible dream. Mr. Chesterton's laughter is itself a presage of victory.

The production of a great literature, it must be remembered, however, is due to three factors, with only two of which we have dealt. First, there must be the tradition on which the writer works. The best of preachers is handicapped by a poor text; the most gifted of authors must find his powers unemployed if his theme is uninspiring. We have seen that, in this respect, the Catholic author whose personality is suffused with the spirit of the Church has no cause for complaint. He starts with an advantage second to none. A further factor, of course, is the individual capacity, experience and skill of the writer himself. Too often these are regarded as all that really matter. Literary criticism is apt to over-emphasize the importance of individual gifts and thus obscure the point just mentioned as well as the part played by the reading public. It is this last to which we want to call special attention here.

The speaker reacts to his audience, the actor to those before the footlights, and the wielder of the pen is dependent more than he may imagine upon that invisible public for which he writes. It is they who, consciously or unconsciously, create, in large measure, the atmosphere in which he works. Their sympathy, understanding and quick response are as real as, though less evident than, on those occasions where the orator stands face to face with his hearers. In the case of the Catholic writer, if those from whom he might expect this kind of co-operation are apathetic, casual or indifferent, it will be hard indeed for him to do his best. Nay, it may well be that he will hesitate to appeal to them at all. Supply, in these cases, is dependent on demand. Even pecuniary

reasons will discourage the attempt to write as a Catholic if the Catholic public fails in its support. We are sufficiently numerous to make our influence very distinctly felt in the literary market. The fact that it is not felt as it should be means that large numbers who, as readers, should be asserting their distinctive cultural preferences are content to swim with the stream of contemporary literary fashion, satisfied as long as they do not overstep the limits set by the Natural Law or by the Index. There exists already an extensive Catholic literature whose power for good might be vastly increased if those to whom it is chiefly addressed would read, assimilate and spread it. The claims of our press are being frequently, but not too frequently voiced, and it is pointed out how great might be the strength derived from the wider circulation of papers devoted to the interests of the Church. But the influence of such papers is necessarily limited and ephemeral. The organs of Catholicism must leave untouched a large field of human interests which are yet capable of treatment in a distinctively Catholic fashion. What has been said as to the need of supporting our own papers must be said with reinforced emphasis concerning the duty Catholics owe those who, in the more permanent forms of literature, write from the Catholic standpoint. The fact that we ourselves are not endowed with the gifts that make others successful dramatists, novelists, essayists or poets, does not release us from responsibility for the creation of a truly Christian literature. Every time we choose our reading matter from the shelves of shop or library, and every time opportunity presents itself for recommending the good things we have read we either shirk or accept that responsibility. "The battle of the books" will be won, not by the creative geniuses in our midst alone, but by the rank and file of the Catholic reading public. To some extent, at least, it is a soldier's battle.

STANLEY B. JAMES.

HOW TO COMBINE COUNTRY AND TOWN

AN ex-policeman, turned gardener, once told me that in his long experience of the Courts he had come to the conclusion that the least criminal profession in the community were gardeners. Being at the time a smallholder myself, I gave full credence to his story, the more so as he did not give this certificate of virtue to the farmer and the big land-owner, whose profits depend as much on their flintiness as task-masters and salesmen as on patient skill and forethought and the honest sweat of Adam's sons.

It is a matter for reflection to how great an extent gardening has been practised by religious orders, not only for their bodily needs but as part of their spiritual training. Horticulture owes a great deal to the old monks. When I thought I had mastered it myself years ago, I discovered how much I had still to learn on reading a learned treatise on apple-growing by a French cleric. Yet it is important to remember that these worthies who "worked with their hands the thing that is good" did not and do not make of it a whole-time occupation. They have mastered the two great, ennobling and stimulating arts of *co-operation and the double life*. Therein lies the minimum of risk and waste in human effort. The French smallholder who labours at nothing else but his holding has some sterling virtues, but he keeps his nose too close to the soil, and having all his eggs in one basket, has become careworn and indurated and, above all men, parsimonious. I have watched with pity his Spanish confrère with his whole family doing little else on a Sunday but carry manure on to his *finca*, aided by his little boys and girls, who ought to have been at catechism and at play, and the whole family seemed bent on getting the most out of granny, an aged hag, who by dint of much leading seemed to have lost the capacity for an erect posture, to have forgotten how to look up. The whole-time smallholder has the illusion of being a free man, but he is ever an anxious one, as hard on himself and his own as any employer would dare to be towards him. In some respects the hired agricultural labourer is better off, yet his life is in the main a deadening one, and his services very ill requited. Statistics in England show that his children are not nowadays as healthy as those of the

townsman, for they are worse taught, worse fed, and, strange to say, sleep in a worse atmosphere. What the agricultural labourer wants is a better house, better pay, especially in bad weather, and more variety in his life. What the smallholder needs is likewise an alternative occupation for wet weather, which if paid sufficiently well would relieve him from the crushing anxiety of depending on the uncertain success of his crops, and above all, he requires participation in co-operative buying and selling and transport, in a word, emancipation from the middleman.

Yet there is a great and growing peril in the tendency of the Anglo-Saxon race, even in new continents, to turn its back on the soil. I sometimes shudder with apprehension when I take a long bus ride through miles and miles of our great English towns, and realize how dependent their inhabitants are on precarious and uncertain overseas markets and food supplies. We had one warning in the War, which we heeded temporarily, and nearly succeeded in growing enough at home to feed ourselves, only to slide back into the perilously dependent position we occupy at present. We have had another warning in the demoralizing unemployment of peace time. Supposing, by way of illustration, that everyone of those unemployed men could have claimed as a birthright as much land as he could cultivate himself intensively, what a mass of real wealth might have been saved to the country! He might, moreover, have a moral right to strike then, if he left the mine or factory or workshop to grow food for himself and his family. This "second string" would give him at once great independence of both Masters and Union, and greater equanimity and balance. Yet our successive Governments and those who elect them seem blind to warnings. Yet another world war, or the industrialization of Asia and Africa, enabling those continents to manufacture as well as grow their own cotton and wool, to make as well as mine all their own metal tools: all these probable—in time almost inevitable—contingencies would entail the toppling of our vast, vague supremacy in banking and insurance which are our other great sources of urban livelihood. What then? Millions of idle and desperate men, educated well enough in what is no longer of any use to them, but woefully ignorant of the A.B.C. of the basic industry of the world, upon which life itself depends—agriculture!

Study the deliberate manner in which India's hundreds of millions are now setting themselves to be independent of

our cotton goods on the advice of such men as Gandhi, and yet mark how Gandhi himself fears the industrialization of his country, and desperately counsels reliance on the primitive spinning wheel, worked by a household still in the main agricultural. Note the fact that the still more numerous yellow races are acquiring the habit of eating wheaten bread and meat, how the United States with its increasing population can now export but little food, and it is plain that the world outside Great Britain will have less need to buy our manufactured goods, and less inclination to sell us food in the future.

It would be too late when the great crisis was already upon us for our untaught millions to go "back to the land" on which they had never worked. On the other hand, no one would want to make country yokels of our town-bred population, in the sense of keeping their noses to the soil and nothing else. The very word "civilized" originally meant "town-bred."

But if the city man of any class could also be a half-time smallholder or gardener in the country or on the outskirts of his town, he would feel himself a free man, doubly insured. At present, the town worker is only employed for six or eight out of the sixteen hours of the waking day, and quite long enough too, because it is always indoor work, in somebody else's service, and therefore devitalizing and of at best only secondary interest to the worker.

But if an Englishman's house is his castle, his garden should be his kingdom, where he reigns and rules subject only to the exigencies of his budget, and if he is a wise ruler, in touch with his neighbours, he will make his receipts much more than balance his expenditure.

What a different England we should have to-day if in the early years of the last century, when our great towns grew by leaps and bounds, the authorities had stipulated that each new house must have at least an acre of land attached, as is ordained in some New Zealand cities to-day! As it is, we are confronted not only with the difficulty of giving the would-be "double-liver" land, but of housing him near to it. It is true that he could live in a city to issue from it by tram or motor vehicle to work in the country, as happens in Naples, where large numbers of purely or partly rural workers live. In England, the only approach to this condition of things, so far as I know, is at Evesham, that model Worcestershire market town and centre of intensive culture

and orchard growth. The advantage of this plan is that the urban-dwelling cultivator's children have the superior education which town schools can give, while if the principal bread-winner by our hypothesis gives the first part of his day to town work, he is there on the spot.

On the other hand, if he has livestock on his holding, it would obviously be better that his wife should be able to look after it in his absence, and for this his house must be on it, in the country, where too his children will get better air.

As regards social amenities and amusements, which have a great deal to do with the question in our world of to-day, the country is less under a cloud than when I worked in it. There are few main roads now without a service of buses to a town, few prosperous artisans without a motor cycle, few Americans without a Ford. And it was Henry Ford himself who was among the first to predict in his country that the day of big cities was drawing to a close—that the new cities would grow in rings of hamlets round, but away from, the old ones, enabling the city man of any class to live in the country, sometimes with his factory next door to him, but running up to his office, bank or shop in the town. And à propos of factories, a very successful experiment has been tried in Germany of enabling factory hands to own a farm collectively and to work it in their spare time, a plan which has proved a great success. Men who have worked side by side in a factory acquire quicker wits and greater powers of co-operation than suburban and country workers who are apt to be slow and suspicious by nature.

But perhaps the ideal type of settlement for the half-time country-worker is the Garden City—not too big—which as yet is only in its infancy. Let us hope it has done teething freak houses and has established a standard of dwelling at once labour-saving, varied and beautiful, and yet within the means of the average man. And as regards outhouses and boundary fences, we want none of the monstrosities with which we are too much familiarized by the allotments of to-day. Man does not live by bread alone, nor by cabbages and potatoes. He requires beauty, even though he may be unconscious of that need.

But with this reservation, it is a foregone conclusion that agriculture in the future will be at once more intensified and more industrialized than it is at present. It will depend increasingly on machinery and electricity (even for milking

the cows—a great improvement on grubby hands!) The townsman bred will therefore be an apter pupil in the country than Hodge. This was often evidenced during the War, when I helped to train both men and women horticulturists who had had no previous experience whatever of country work, and found it easier to convey new and labour-saving methods to them than to my old labourers, who liked to stick to “rule of thumb,” and are probably still sticking to it.

Canada, whose country population largely works in the cities in winter and is supplemented in the harvest time by town volunteers, also sets us many a good example in building jam and canning factories in every fruit district, as well as local markets, so that the bulk of profits need not go to the middleman. To make practical men from the towns seek lucrative recreation (for such a change of occupation should be) in the country, buying, selling and transport must be done for them communally. Millions who would have plenty of spare energy for gardening (thanks to daylight saving) after six hours’ city work would be disqualified if they had to sell their own market produce or transport it personally in the stupid, wasteful old way. Something more truly public than the Public House must be evolved for that blending of social intercourse and business deals which the village inn imperfectly represents to-day. Not everyone likes the smell of stale beer and shag and equally pungent speech of the Red Lion, where nevertheless one can hear of a timely sitting hen or a would-be farm worker.

We must get together much more, without crowding, and realize (what the farmer never does) that our interests are one, so soon as the middleman is abolished. We must mate the alertness of the townsman with the steadiness and acquired skill of the country, the amenities of the one with the healthiness and beauty of the other. And the beauty will be reflected in the workers and their children—children who from being an “encumbrance” in a town will be a real help on a small holding: a truth worth pondering in these days of heart-searching over our dwindling birth rate. For children should be turned to natural work and play in God’s own country, which is any country where they are welcome and where nature and artifice combine beauty with an honest and health-giving livelihood.

ALEX. JOHNSTON.

THE VEN. WM. HARCOURT, S.J., VINDICATED

FATHER WILLIAM HARCOURT, S.J., was one of the five Jesuits martyred at Tyburn, on 20th June, 1679, for complicity in the pretended Popish Plot. At their trial, on June 13th, Father Harcourt had been the subject of a special accusation by the perjurer, Dugdale, and since this accusation had far-reaching consequences, and has been explicitly discussed by the late Mr. Andrew Lang, it is worth while to trace it to its sources, and to bring to light some new evidence not yet imported into the discussion. Everyone knows that one of the greatest mysteries in English history is the cause of the death of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. Did he commit suicide, as Sir Roger L'Estrange attempted to prove ten years after his death, or was he murdered by Shaftesbury's party, as Roger North, brother of the then Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, asserts? It is, of course, absolutely certain that most Englishmen at the time thought that he was murdered by Papists "to stifle the Plot"; but no modern writer, with the exception of Mr. Pollock, has attempted to revive this contention. And it is equally clear that, apart from and before Godfrey's death, the "Popish Plot had gone to the dogs," as North said. Let us, then, first hear the accusation against Father Harcourt, as stated in the words of his Judge, Lord Chief Justice (of the King's Bench) Scroggs:—

I will challenge all the Papists in England to satisfy any man that hears me this day of one piece of evidence which will turn every Protestant's heart against the Papists. If so be they murdered Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the Plot, even by that, is in great measure proved upon them by that base murther. And what can be a plainer proof of it than the evidence of this day, which Mr. Dugdale produces? Who had notice, saith he, on Monday night, that on the Saturday before it Sir Edm. Godfrey was killed, which falls out to be that very Saturday [October 12th, 1678] he was first missing. Which notice was given in a letter writ by Harcourt to Evers, another priest, that same Saturday night, in which were these words, "This night Sir Edmundbury Godfrey is

dispatched." And I am sure that if this be true, then no man can say but they murdered him. Now the question is whether it be true or no? To make it out, he produces Mr. Chetwind, whom I hope you will not deny to be one of the best families of his country and of honest reputation, and who says, that on the Tuesday following that Saturday Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was mis't, he and another were walking together in Staffordshire, and that the other person asked him if he knew of the death of any justice of the Peace in Westminster. And when he told him he had heard of no such thing. "No," said he, "that is strange, you being sometimes about Westminster, for," said he, "the wench at the alehouse says that this morning Mr. Dugdale said to two other gentlemen, there was a justice of the Peace of Westminster killed, and Mr. Dugdale swears that was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. Now if Dugdale be fit to be believed that he saw such a letter, as he must be if he be not a very great prophet, to be able to foretell this, or if the maid that said this did not invent it (a thing then impossible to be done) or Mr. Chetwind feigned that he heard the man make his report from the maid, this thing could not come to pass but by these men.

We can imagine the horror and rage with which country gentlemen and magistrates all over England read these words in the report of the trial. The whole Catholic priesthood was involved by the accusation against Father Harcourt and a priest became a noxious animal, to be hunted down and destroyed, like the stoats and weasels of their own hedgerows. No priest, as a priest, had been executed during the reign of Charles II. before this date.¹ After the condemnation of the five Jesuits, priests under sentence of death for their priesthood only were executed all over England. First in the list was William Plessington, executed at Chester, on July 19th. Then followed Philip Evans, S.J., and John Lloyd, at Cardiff, on July 22nd; Nicholas Postgate, at York, on August 7th; Charles Mahoney, O.S.F., at Ruthin, on August 12th; John Wall, O.S.F., and John Kemble, at

¹ This is North's statement in his *Examen*. He says that only one priest, as such, had even been sentenced to death. Reference to J. C. Jeaffreson's "Middlesex County Records," Vol. IV., proves that this priest was Alexander Burnett, whose fate has hitherto been unknown. Henry Muddiman, however, writing on March 4, 1675, said: "Mr. Alexander Burnett, who lately had his trial at the Old Bailey, for endeavouring to pervert his Majesty's subjects, is sent in custody to Dover, where he is to be shipped and sent beyond the seas."

Worcester and Hereford respectively, on August 22nd; and, lastly, David Lewis, S.J., at Usk, on August 27th, 1679. It seems hardly too much to assert that none of these eight good men would have lost his life but for the accusation against Father Harcourt.

When discussing Mr. Pollock's volume, "The Popish Plot," Mr. Andrew Lang wrote, "If I held a brief against the Jesuits, I should make much of a point Mr. Pollock does not labour,"¹ and then he cites Mr. Pollock's comment: "Dugdale was proved to have spoken, on Tuesday, October 15th, 1678, of the death of a justice of the Peace in Westminster, which does not go far."² "But," remarked Mr. Lang, "if this is proved, it goes all the way, unless we can explain Dugdale's information without involving the guilty knowledge of Harcourt."

Before proving that it was possible for Dugdale to speak, with accurate knowledge, of the death of a Justice of the Peace, on the Monday or any day of the week following that in which Godfrey was missing, we must consider the postal service from London to the country.

Three weekly posts were in existence at the time, on Saturdays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, and each set out from London on the evenings of these days. Godfrey was missing at mid-day on Saturday, October 12th, and that evening's post arrived at Tixall, Staffordshire, where Dugdale was at that time, on the morning of Monday, the 14th. In like manner, the post of Tuesday, the 15th, arrived at Tixall on the morning of Thursday, the 17th, and at six o'clock in the evening of that Thursday, Godfrey's body was found near Primrose Hill. News of the finding of the body, therefore, could arrive only by the post of Saturday, the 19th October. Hence the importance of the letter, dated October 12th, attributed by Dugdale to Father Harcourt and quoted in Scrogg's judgment.

In defence of Father Harcourt, therefore, two points have to be settled. First, whether news of the death of a Justice of Peace did actually arrive at Tixall on Monday, the 14th, or on Thursday, the 17th, and secondly, could such news have arrived without the agency of Father Harcourt?

On the afternoon of Saturday, October 12th.—"On that very afternoon," says Roger North, in his *Examen*, rumours were set on foot by the "Plotters" (Shaftesbury's party) that

¹ In "The Valet's Tragedy," pp. 92-3.

² "The Popish Plot," p. 341, note 2.

Godfrey had been murdered by Papists, and these rumours went down into the country by that night's post. This statement, of course, is fatal to Mr. Pollock's theory, and so he says it is "worthless."¹ The second volume of the "Finch MSS.," published in 1922, shatters this assertion by setting out a very lengthy letter from Sir Robert Southwell (Clerk to the Privy Council in 1678) to the second Lord Nottingham, son of Heneage Finch, the first peer, and Lord Chancellor at the time of Oates's plot, in which letter the effect of these rumours is mentioned. It is dated May 21st, 1688, and was occasioned by Sir Roger L'Estrange's third part of his "Brief History of the Times," then just published, in which L'Estrange contended that Godfrey's two brothers, approached the Lord Chancellor, on Tuesday, October 15th, to beg their brother's estate, forfeited if he had committed suicide. L'Estrange's inference, that the Lord Chancellor had concealed the fact that the brothers of Godfrey believed he had committed suicide, was emphatically refuted by Southwell, who proved in great detail that, on the contrary, they came to denounce the Papists for murdering him. The matter was *first* mentioned by the Lord Chancellor to the Privy Council on Monday morning, the 14th. Thus it is clear that it was the rumours mentioned by North that prompted their denunciation.²

Apart from these facts, Southwell was not indisposed to consider the theory of suicide as a possible explanation. And he concluded his refutation of L'Estrange by pointing out that, if the brothers had wished to beg Godfrey's estate, their proper course would have been to have applied, not to the Lord Chancellor, or other members of the Council, but to one of the two Secretaries of State, or to the King himself, who was then at Newmarket.

Another new piece of evidence is contained in the news-letter of Henry Muddiman (then attached to Secretary Coventry), dated "Tuesday, October 15th." This, of course, arrived at Tixall on Thursday, the morning of the day upon which Godfrey's body was found, and runs as follows:—"The town is full of discourse about the absence of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, who being the justice of Peace before whom Mr. Oates made deposition upon his discovery, and having now been wanting since Saturday morning, without any notice

¹ "The Popish Plot," p. 93, note 2.

² See also Southwell's letter, of October 15, 1678, to the Duke of Ormonde, in the Ormonde MSS. Vol. IV., p. 458.

given (in which he was always observed to have been punctual) to his servants or relations, they entertain hard thoughts of the Roman party. A little time may better inform us."¹ These two unimpeachable pieces of evidence show that Roger North's assertion is not "worthless," but a plain truth. Moreover, at Lord Stafford's trial, in December, 1680, several witnesses were called to prove that the news of a Justice of Peace at Westminster having been murdered by Papists was "all over the country" in Staffordshire, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 15th and 16th October, 1678. What was *not* proved at the trial is that this news was caused by Father Harcourt's supposed letter and, strangest omission of all, Charles Chetwind was not even called at Lord Stafford's trial to give evidence about that letter. How that came to pass I shall now show.

The whole of Dugdale's depositions before the Privy Council, nineteen in all, were taken down by Sir Robert Southwell and are extant in the Calendar of the "Fitzherbert MSS." His first deposition is dated December 24th, 1678; others followed on December 29th and January 8th, 11th, 17th, 11th—22nd, 1679. In this last deposition Godfrey is for the first time mentioned, as follows:—

He [Dugdale] saith that upon notice of the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, he much blamed to Mr. Evers the indiscretion of that business, as a thing that might help to discover their design, but Mr. Evers told him it could not do much hurt, for he being a man much given to punish debauchery, it would be thought that some of them [*sic*] had done it.

Even this embroidered version of the reports current before Godfrey's body was found did not implicate Father Harcourt, nor did Dugdale's next three depositions, those of January 23rd, 24th and 31st, make any mention of his supposed letter.

Then, on February 5th, 1679, followed the trial of three poor men, Green, Berry and Hill, who were actually executed for Godfrey's murder. Had Dugdale ever said anything about the supposed letter from Father Harcourt, he would have been a most material witness at this trial. He had not yet done so, and thus was not called to give evidence at it. After this trial Dugdale gave in three more depositions to the Privy Council. These were dated February 12th, 21st and

¹ Original draft in the Longleat MSS.

24th, and in all of them he had nothing to say about Godfrey. At last, in his next deposition, that of March 21st, he revised and improved the story told by him on January 11th—22nd. He was about to be called as a witness against the five Jesuits and against Sir George Wakeman, the physician to the Queen, so his tale now ran as follows:—

This deponent saith that for these two years past all, or most, letters that were sent to Mr. Evers were directed to this deponent, and that about the 13th or 14th of October last (but of the time he is not very certain) there came two letters from Harcoate and Bennyfield [Bedingfield] to the said Mr. Evers. In one or both of which letters was expressed that this night is Sir Edmundbury Godfrey dispatched, which the said Evers read to the deponent: the deponent told the said Evers he would be hanged if that did not overthrow the whole business, which made Evers answer, "No, it will not be taken to be us, for he used to punish lewd persons and such as used to go to debauched houses, and it will be supposed to be some of those that have killed him."

The rest of this deposition and the subsequent proceedings in the Houses of Lords and Commons (mentioned by Southwell in his letter to Lord Nottingham) render it clear how it came to pass that Father Harcourt's name was now introduced. Charles Chetwind had now come forward with an assertion that Dugdale, at the time of his deposition of 11th—22nd January, had told him of Father Harcourt's letter, and had accused Sir Robert Southwell of omitting this important fact when he took down that deposition. Dugdale gave a lame explanation of the omission, in which, however, he exonerated Southwell. He had "said this when he was gone not when he was at the Committee of the Council."¹

Very little information is available about Charles Chetwind (whose name is usually misspelt "Chetwyn") but, such as it is, it is not to his credit, for he was the intimate personal friend of the "Green Ribbon" clubman, Hugh Speke of White Lackington,² described by the Dictionary of National Biography as an "egregious liar."

Five days later on, on March 26th, Sir Robert Southwell, who was M.P. for Penrhyn, told the House of Commons that

¹ Ormonde MSS., Vol. V., p. 9.

² See the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series 1679—1680, pp. 186 and 214. These pages have been indexed to Charles Chetwind's "brother, Walter "Chetwyn," in mistake.

he had been "vilified and bespattered" outside the House by Charles Chetwind, for suppressing Dugdale's evidence, and demanded an enquiry into the matter. The House went thoroughly into the question of whether there had been any "foul play" by Sir Robert and followed the House of Lords by giving him a unanimous vote of confidence. But "when the House were considering of the punishment ought to be inflicted upon the false accuser" (Chetwind), Southwell "in great generosity interfered for their passing it by."¹ No mention was made of all this when Chetwind appeared at the trial of the five Jesuits, on the following June 13th.

On July 18th Sir George Wakeman was tried for the plot. Dugdale again appeared as a witness, again repeated his story about Father Harcourt and, as before, was supported by Chetwind. Dugdale, however, committed himself to the assertion that the two persons, mentioned in the trial of the five Jesuits, to whom he had told the story of Father Harcourt's letter at the alehouse, were the parson of Tixall, Ralph Philips, and a Mr. Sambidge, a relation of Lord Aston of Tixall.

But, by this time Scroggs had changed sides, and Sir George Wakeman was acquitted. Chetwind and Dugdale, however, had not yet been thoroughly discredited; the former even published a pamphlet, in his own name, attacking the Jesuits and, at the end of it, quoted Lord Chief Justice Scroggs' remarks at the trial of Father Harcourt, which have already been set out.²

The King then intervened. He had dissolved Parliament on July 11th, as a preliminary to "striking out of the list" of the Privy Council Shaftesbury and others, and he now directed the Judges visiting Staffordshire on the summer circuit to enquire into the story of Chetwind and Dugdale about Father Harcourt. The result was told by Nathaniel Thompson, in the second number of his "Domestick Intelligence," that is "No. 16" for August 29th, 1679, in a passage hitherto unknown.³ We must read between the lines of "Popish

¹ Arachitell Grey's "Debates," VII., pp. 56-59; Lords Journals for March 25, 1679; and "Ormonde MSS." Vol. V., p. 4.

² Charles Chetwind's "A Narrative of the depositions of Robert Jenison, Esq." etc., etc.

³ The two first numbers of the "Domestick Intelligence," bearing the imprint of Nathaniel Thompson, were both "No. 16." They were published in opposition to the paper of the same title issued by Benjamin Harris, the Anabaptist, and can be seen in Burney 81.A. Though Harris was abusing Thompson in his own paper for his counterfeits, he had nothing to say about the Stafford Assizes.

Nat's " report and realize that he did not in the least believe that it really confirmed Dugdale.

In Staffordshire there hath fallen out an accident which hath much confirmed the testimony of Mr. Dugdale. The story is thus.

The judges that went that circuit, having received order here before they went, to enquire into that part of Dugdale's evidence which related to the murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; when they came to that place where Dugdale affirms that he related the murther to several people at dinner, and particularly to a minister [Mr. Philips] whom he named, the judges did receive a petition from the said minister, in which he set forth that, whereas Dugdale had at London given upon oath that he had related the story of the murther above named to this person on the Monday next after this was committed; he did by this, his petition, declare and protest that he never heard any such discourse from Mr. Dugdale. But Mr. Dugdale, fearing some such trick, prepared his evidence and was at the place when the petition was delivered; and, as soon as ever it was read, produced two of his servants, who swore that Dugdale did declare the matter to the minister at the time before mentioned. And, there being further enquiry made into the matter, they found that the Lord Aston was patron to the minister, and that a Roman Catholick drew up the petition, and that he had instigated the minister to present it.

But, we note, the " wench at the alehouse " was not produced, and the parson of the parish, all honour to him for coming forward, was surely a better witness than two of Dugdale's servants. Chetwind never again appeared as a witness. The matter then lay dormant for over a year, whilst Charles II., by steadily refusing to allow Parliament to meet, had stopped the executions of priests, and was busily engaged in checking and exposing a whole series of minor plots set on foot by Shaftesbury. At last, in October, 1680, the King was compelled to summon Parliament. One of the results was the doing to death, in December, 1680, of the Ven. William Howard, Viscount Stafford. At his trial Dugdale was a witness and on the third day of the trial, December 2nd, 1680, Lord Stafford called Mr. Philips, the parson of Tixall, to contradict him. Mr. Philips said that he had not been

present at Sir George Wakeman's trial, but that Dugdale's evidence on that occasion was untrue. Neither by letter nor by word of mouth had Dugdale communicated the contents of the pretended letter from Father Harcourt, either to himself or to Mr. "Sambidge." Mr. Sambidge, "very deaf and very old," was also called and denied Dugdale's story in even more explicit terms. To Dugdale, Sambidge ascribed the worst possible character. He was the "wickedest man" in the whole neighbourhood, said he. Like Philips, Sambidge was a Protestant. "My Lords, I conceive by this," said Lord Stafford, "'tis proved to your lordships that Dugdale did at that trial [of Sir George Wakeman] declare that he had acquainted Mr. Sambidge and Mr. Philips with the letter about the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the Tuesday after he was murdered. And I conceive I have proved to your lordships, by their denying it, that he did not tell them so; and so, he is forsworn in that."

How in the face of the evidence produced by Lord Stafford, Mr. Pollock could write that Dugdale was "proved" to have spoken of Godfrey's death on Tuesday, October 15th, must be a matter for amazement on the part of those who have merely read the trials and do not know Grey's Debates and Thompson's newspaper. It is true that Mr. Pollock does not explicitly endorse the fictitious letter by Father Harcourt, but his denial of Roger North's statement renders it tolerably evident that he would like to do so. Like Mr. Sapsea, the Mayor of Cloisterham, in "Edwin Drood," he is of opinion that "the end crowns the work," so that in the attempt to fasten the crime of Godfrey's murder upon the Jesuits, any contention is permissible. "Proof, Sir. Proof must be built up stone upon stone," said Mr. Sapsea, "as I say, the end crowns the work. It is not enough that justice should be morally certain; she must be immorally certain—legally, that is. 'His honour,' said Mr. Datchery, 'reminds me of the nature of the Law. Immoral. How true.'" Mr. Datchery's comment may very well serve for a characterization of the whole series of Popish Plot trials.

J. G. MUDDIMAN.

MISCELLANEA

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

"INDULGENCE" OR "PARDON"?

CATHOLICS of the diocese of Westminster who listened last Sunday to the stirring pastoral of the Cardinal Archbishop, exhorting his flock to co-operate by all the means in their power with the great purposes for which the Roman Jubilee has been instituted, can hardly have failed to remark an interesting new departure in the matter of terminology. We say "a new departure," because the word which His Eminence employs has probably never before been heard by any of us in this technical sense as a form of living speech, even though it represents in reality a return to primitive usage. But it was "pardon" and not "indulgence" of which men almost invariably spoke in this country for nearly three centuries before England broke away from the centre of Christian unity.

A Jubilee [writes Cardinal Bourne] carries with it an *indulgence*, or to use the old English word, so much easier of acceptance by the non-Catholic ear, a *pardon*. Pardon or forgiveness implies offence or sin. . . . This is the deliberate revolt of the creature's will against the manifest Will of the Creator . . . and such revolt, though its guilt be mercifully forgiven through the merits of our Divine Redeemer, in answer to our own sorrowful appeal and acknowledgment, carries with it a debt of expiation to be paid either in this life or the next, before we can pass to eternal rest and peace.

The debt spoken of, as His Eminence goes on to point out, may be extinguished by a pardon, and the Church has power to bestow such pardon of temporal punishment "to a degree not merely proportioned to the merits of the recipient, but enhanced by the granting to him of some share of the superabundant merits of the Redeemer and of the accumulated merits of the members of the Church of which she is the guardian and dispenser." This, of course, has nothing directly to do with the remission of guilt; it is merely the relaxation of penalty. But, on the other hand, it presupposes the remission of guilt.

There can be no doubt, as the Cardinal says, that the word "indulgence" does lend itself to a good deal of misunderstanding on the part of those outside the Church. It would be hard to find a more striking example than is met with in that weird and

popular story about vampires, called "Dracula," by the late Mr. Bram Stoker, who from his Irish birth and education, not to speak of other more domestic reasons, might have been expected to know better. In this novel a Catholic layman is introduced, a professor, if we remember rightly, of Amsterdam, who claims to be a specialist in vampire demonology. By way of preventing the vampires from quitting the tomb in which they had taken up their abode, he plasters up all the crevices with a cement made of certain consecrated Hosts which he happens to be carrying about him in a pyx. Someone in the story seems to suspect that this was not quite a regular proceeding. Whereupon the professor replies, with an evident conviction that his explanation would be entirely satisfactory: "Ah, my friend, do not be surprised; you see, I have an Indulgence."

From the point of view of preventing misconceptions it is much to be wished that we had some word in English corresponding to the German *Abläss*, the Dutch and Flemish *Aflaat*, which mean etymologically "a letting off" or exemption. But no quite equivalent term seems ever to have established itself in the very mixed vocabulary of our native speech. Norman influences were strong in all ecclesiastical matters at the time when the old language was crystallizing into the English which Shakespeare found so abundantly sufficient for all his needs, and though such earlier terms as church, bishop, housel, bedes (*i.e.*, prayers), shrift, rood, etc., were still retained, we are indebted to Gaul for most of the words needed to describe either the external rites or the interior spirit of religious worship, as, for example, in "altar," "cross," "chalice," the vestments and their names, together with "chastity," "humility," "poverty," "grace," "discipline," "silence," etc. We have no record of indulgences being spoken of in the vernacular at any early date. The first British subject who seems to have been at all keenly interested in the matter is Giraldus Cambrensis, but we do not know by what name he would have called them if he had been conversing with English yeomen who knew no French. Even at the centre of Christendom the Treasures of the Church were dispensed in his day in much more niggardly fashion than we are familiar with now. In the time of Innocent III. he spent the whole period from the Epiphany to the end of Easter Week in Rome, being present at all the stations and devoting himself entirely to pious exercises with the view of purifying his soul by trudging from church to church, by almsdeeds, a good confession, and finally "the apostolic absolution." At the end he calculates with no little satisfaction that the whole sum of indulgences he had gained amounted to 92 years.¹ When we remember that an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines is nowadays attached to

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, Rolls Series, I. 137-138.

some quite short prayers, and 300 days to a simple ejaculation, it is easy to see that Giraldus's total might easily be exceeded in half an hour. We may note with interest that, writing about the year 1205, Giraldus in his Latin text does not use the word *indulgentiae*, but *relaxationes*, repeating it several times without any qualifying description, although in one place he speaks of *relaxatio injunctae poenitentiae*.

It is not until some time later that in an English versifier we meet the word "pardon," used in the sense of a relaxation of penance. In the story of St. Thomas of Canterbury as recorded in the Southern English Legends (c. 1290), which may be the work of the writer or writers who pass by the name of Robert of Gloucester, we hear that "Men nusten in Engelond such pardon none" (men knew no such pardon in England) as that which was to be gained at the shrine of St. Thomas. From this time forward the word meets us constantly, and though "indulgence" occurs now and again, pardon is the term employed in nine cases out of ten. We find a good deal about pardons in "The Vision of Piers the Plowman," though even in the A text (c. 1362) the word indulgences occasionally occurs. Thus we learn how the priest "divined that Do-well, indulgence passed,"¹ i.e., that to lead a good and charitable life was a better thing than indulgences. But almost immediately afterwards Langland goes on, one never quite knows with him how far his utterances are subacid and satirical—

Now hath the pope power pardon to grant,
The people without penance to pass to joy,
This is a leaf of our belief, as lettered men teach
Quodcunque ligaveris super terram etc.
And so I believe fully, (our Lord forbid it else)
That pardon and penance and prayers do save
Souls that have sinned seven sithes (times) deadly.²

Even in later quasi-official documents, when they are written in English, we find the same word "pardon" used. For example, in the extension of the Jubilee of Alexander VI. to England in 1501, a translation of the papal bull seems to have been published, and though the document is headed "The Bull of the holy Jubilee of full remission and great joy," and the words "remission" or "indulgence" recur the most frequently, we also read that those who comply with the conditions of the Jubilee "shall have the same indulgence, pardon and grace, with remission of all their sins, which they should have had if they had gone personally to Rome in the year of grace."

But of all the surviving monuments of mediæval English

¹ A Text, Passus VIII. l. 156.

² *Ib.* Passus VIII. ll. 160-165.

teaching on the subject of indulgences, the most interesting is undoubtedly that which is preserved to us in the form of a sermon, apparently by Father Thomas Wynter, a Brigettine monk of Syon, near Isleworth, which dates probably from about 1420. Although it takes the form of a sermon it really amounts to a treatise on "pardons." Perhaps the most curious feature is the account given of the Portiuncula indulgence of which Wynter says, "this pardon was first graunted to an house of this Order in the danyk (Scandinavia) and afterwards extendet to all the ordir and in special to the monasterie of Syon, as our bulles shewe." One curious feature in the case is that the "Portiuncula Pardon of Assyse" was at Syon kept in Lent, and that the MS. Harleian 2321, which contains the tractate, preserves at the end a curious narrative of "How perdon of Assyse was graunted to S. Fraunceys both by oure Lorde Jesu Christ and by the pope of Rome."

H.T.

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE OF AMERICA.

WHEN America entered the World War in 1917 the bishops of the Catholic Church of America at once met in Washington and were the first religious group to offer to the President its patriotic services and loyal support. To fulfil this pledge effectively they organized the National Catholic War Council under the immediate direction of the hierarchy of the Church. As a consequence, this organization inspired and directed the services of twenty million of united and patriotic Catholics during a great crisis in our history and in the history of the world. Though primarily it promoted the spiritual and material welfare of our troops at home and abroad and unified all Catholic war activities, it was always ready to co-operate with any and all agencies in the interest of America's cause.

Previous to the establishment of this National Catholic War Council, American Catholics had large organizations, but they were to a great extent built along social, racial, or philanthropic lines and no one society could adequately represent Catholic opinion or unify Catholic action.

At the close of the war it was realized that the problems of peace for the Church as well as for the country were almost as vast and complicated as the problems of war and that the Catholic Church could serve itself as well as the country by continuing on a peace basis the emergency organization built up during the war. Thus was the temporary War Council changed to a permanent Welfare Council, and later the name *Council*, which has a specific ecclesiastical significance, was changed to *Conference*.

Before the War Council was merged into the Welfare Conference it issued a remarkable brochure on "Social Reconstruction," which briefly and clearly set forth the Catholic attitude toward the pressing problems of the day. This pamphlet was received with most favourable comment, especially in circles outside the Church. In the foreword the bishops said: "The ending of the Great War has brought peace. But the only safeguard of peace is social justice and a contented people. The deep unrest so emphatically and so widely voiced throughout the world is the most serious menace to the future peace of every nation and of the entire world. Great problems face us. They cannot be put aside; they must be met and solved with justice to all."

The formal organization of the Welfare Conference was effected in September, 1919, at a meeting of the hierarchy in Washington, with the dominant idea that the Conference should co-ordinate the 102 dioceses, or ecclesiastical units of the Church in the States into one body, so that in problems of national concern, unity of plan and action might be had whenever desirable.

At the outset, Cardinal Gibbons, in his own name and the name of the hierarchy, outlined the intent and scope of the Conference in an eighty page Pastoral Letter, which was widely circulated. In this pastoral the bishops declared "the tasks of peace demand that our people should rise above all minor considerations and unite their endeavours for the good of the country." It was a clarion call to the Catholics of America to think and work nationally in one body, the better to uphold the best traditions and ideals of America, and in particular to inspire the social, economic and moral life of America with Christian principles.

An Administrative Committee of seven archbishops and bishops, selected for their fitness and geographic jurisdictions, was placed at the head of the Conference, and this Committee was directed to establish five departments of operations, namely Education, Social Action, Legislation, Press and Publicity, and Lay Organizations. To harmonize these five departments a central headquarters was established at Washington and an executive secretary was chosen as a national liaison officer to co-ordinate and unify the work of the entire organization. The secretary is the responsible representative of the hierarchy as a whole, and represents in particular the chairman of the administrative committee, who from the beginning has been the Archbishop of San Francisco.

Each one of these five departments has as its chairman a bishop, who is also one of the members of the administrative committee, and under him there are directors and a staff composed of priests, lay-men and lay-women, who carry out the

policies of the administrative committee. This division of labour has been found by experience to stimulate more interest than if all the work were merged into one office.

Before considering the work of the five departments a word should be said about the functions of the central administrative office, upon which rests the supervision and control of the Conference as a whole, as well as the responsibility of its general policy and action. This central office keeps in touch, not only with the five departments, but with the officials of the Church and of the Government, so that any problem of national importance may be reported and interpreted to one or the other. Thereby a medium of communication is established on all matters that affect public as well as Catholic interests. Thus, for example, the administrative office supplies the Government with information on Catholic education in the Philippines or Porto Rico; on Catholic missionary work in Haiti; it suggests regulations regarding sacramental wine; it reports on moral conditions in the Canal zone, where the Conference maintains a community house; it deals with the War and Navy departments with regard to chaplains. This same office, through a Bureau of Immigration, co-operates with the corresponding bureau of the Government, and very effectively, since a large number of immigrants are Catholics. At the Government's suggestion, the Conference employs an experienced staff at the ports of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and elsewhere. In some cases the Conference has had its representative in the foreign ports from which the emigrants leave.

The administrative office also conducts a Bureau of Motion Pictures which has done nation-wide work in preventing the output of indecent motion pictures and in promoting pictures of a wholesome kind by sending out "white lists" of films approved for their moral as well as their artistic value. This Bureau has always lent its influence in the national fight against indecent literature, the white slave traffic, the control of narcotics, and similar evils.

One of the first concerns of the administrative office was the publishing of an accurate account of the participation of Catholics in the World War, in a volume called "American Catholics in the War,"¹ compiled from the files of the Historical Bureau, which employed a force of trained workers in the collection and publishing of Catholic historical data. The administrative office has also established a General Library for the use of all departments and to aid Catholic organizations throughout the country in preparing programmes of action and in suggesting wider fields of work. For this same purpose it has also published a number of pamphlets and even some volumes of permanent value.

¹ Reviewed in *THE MONTH*, January, 1922.

Reviewing the work of the administrative office, Archbishop Hanna once said: "We have not advertised our achievements nor made them the occasion of envy and hatred to others, but we have by a policy of education minimized the old-time charges against the Catholic body as the enemies of education, unpatriotic, promoters of racial discord, opponents of social progress and obstacles to the country's unity and well-being. We have placed the Church in a strong public position, have given it that watchfulness which is the condition of its well-being amidst our people; have aroused not a new but a more vigorous life in the body of the laity, and have placed in our national, political councils the light and the power of Catholic truth."

No explanation of the National Catholic Welfare Conference would be even remotely satisfactory without a word about the five departments through which it functions. One of these departments is that of Education, and the Archbishop of St. Paul is its chairman. It has a director and a competent personnel conducting the following divisions: Statistics and information, teachers' registration, elementary education, research, Catholic education, and library. Thus is this department a clearing house of information for educators, students and for the general public, and a national adviser and patron of Catholic education in all its phases. This department has published a Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools and many pamphlets on education and allied subjects.

The Department of Press and Publicity serves a hundred or more Catholic papers, daily and weekly, with a news service of eight printed columns of newspaper size, additional mimeographed news sheets, a Washington weekly letter, monthly editorials on vital topics of the day, special articles by distinguished American and foreign writers, book reviews and other magazine features. Through an exchange and clipping bureau the press department directs the attention of other departments to matters pertinent to their particular work.

The Department of Social Action, of which the Bishop of Rockford is chairman, functions through three sections; one deals with industrial relations, headed by Dr. John A. Ryan, with offices in Washington, another with civic education and social surveys, headed by Dr. John A. Lapp, with offices in Chicago, and another with rural life problems, headed by Dr. Edwin V. O'Hara, with offices in Eugene, Oregon. The purpose of all three sections is to gather and distribute information and to serve as scientific advisers to the other departments, and especially to the Department of Lay Organizations. A social survey bureau helps communities and organizations to inaugurate social works, or to improve their technique or procedure. A lecture bureau is also maintained, through which social study classes

are organized and stimulated. This department has published not only pamphlets on social, industrial and rural subjects, but several volumes known as "The Social Action Series," by such writers as Doctors Ryan and Kerby of the Catholic University, Father Husslein of Fordham, and Father Millar of Georgetown University. Special emphasis has been given to the problems of Americanization, and for this purpose two small books, "Fundamentals of Citizenship" and "The Civics Catechism," have been published in ten languages—in itself a notable work.

The Department of Law and Legislation scrutinizes legislative measures of interest to Catholics for the purpose of determining their probable effect and, where practicable, suggests amendments to and changes in their text in order, if possible, to eliminate objectionable features. Another important work of this department is the assistance rendered to ex-service men relative to compensation, insurance and pensions. This work is done with the utmost co-operation from governmental agencies.

One of the greatest concerns of the bishops in planning the Welfare Conference was the establishment of an organization that would unify the Catholic lay-forces of the country. This was done by the Department of Lay Organizations through its two co-ordinate sections—one the National Council of Catholic Men and the other the National Council of Catholic Women. The Bishop of Cleveland is the chairman of both sections. Through it twenty million Catholic men and women give expression to their religious convictions and to their concern for the upbuilding of America. Through it the limitations of parish and diocesan lines are removed and a national viewpoint obtained without which nation-wide organization or action are impossible. This mighty lay-organization, inspired with religious ideals, gives a great moral power to America, a power which the material supremacy of America sorely needs as a spiritual corrective.

The National Council of Men counts in contributing memberships and organizations nearly five million Catholic men, and is under the presidency of a retired naval officer, Admiral William S. Benson. In accepting the presidency of the Men's Council, Admiral Benson said: "The plan is so splendid, the purpose so compelling, that when the necessity for orderly and sincere organization is understood there is not a parish but will rally to the cry of God and country, service to both, genuine and untiring." The Men's Council furnishes the workers and most of the funds through which the other departments carry on. Without interfering with the autonomy of existing local, State, and even national organizations, the Men's Council makes each one's cause its own and thus serves as the national spokesman of all. Now joining the campaign against unclean pictures, now urging troops of Boy Scouts, now supplying the

materials for social study classes, now protesting against campaigns of religious prejudices, now inaugurating naturalization classes among the foreign-born,—in a word, the Men's Council expresses in a practical way the best in religion and patriotism among the Catholic men of America.

Last but not least is the National Council of Catholic Women, who have been unusually active from the very beginning. This Council is controlled by a board of women directors, representing each of the fourteen arch-dioceses of the country. They employ at the Washington office executive and field secretaries and a trained staff. Serving as a medium through which the Catholic women of the country can speak and act on matters of public interest, the Council renders assistance to existing Catholic organizations and even to organizations of other nations, as in the case of the International Travellers' Aid Society. In its work for immigrants and Americanization it organizes community houses at strategic points with the purpose of eventually turning them over to local committees. It sends representatives to national and State conventions; concerns itself in promoting boarding homes for young women; the promoting of Girl Scout troops in parishes and settlement houses, and in fostering higher technical education among women. The outstanding work, however, of the Women's Council is the establishment of a National Catholic Service School in the city of Washington, a school for the training of social workers.

This is necessarily a brief and cursory review, but sufficient to show that the National Catholic Welfare Conference is rendering a diversified and helpful service to the Church and State. It shows that the Conference is, in the words of Professor Hayes of Columbia University, "the creation of a sentiment of national solidarity among the American Catholics," or, as expressed by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts, is "the agency in America by which the Catholic laity can be doers rather than hearers of the word." The vision and wisdom of the American hierarchy in establishing the National Catholic Welfare Conference has been fully justified, as has been truly said, "it has united in right order, bishops, priests, laity in united counsel; united not with partial but with entire strength; pressing on individually and collectively to one supreme goal—the glory of God and the welfare of country."

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG.

A FORGOTTEN MINOR POET.

ONE of the most beautiful reaches of the Severn is graced by the ruins of the Cistercian abbey of Buildwas on a level holm between the wooded hills that here converge to the steep narrow valley of Ironbridge and Coalport, a signally beautiful example, with its massive pillars and just-pointed arches that hold more of the Norman than the Early English strain.

To me at least these "bare ruined choirs" are fragrant with what Cotton called "the fragrance of Rome." The thought that Rome built and Anglicanism destroyed these noble piles devoted to the work of God was for me one of the many tokens of the way out of heresy's "Slough of Despond." And at times a waft of such perfume will reach us unexpectedly.

Quite lately, in a second-hand bookshop in Shrewsbury, I picked up a forgotten little book of poems by a local author, printed by John Davies at Shrewsbury in 1844, "Belisarius, &c." Poems, by R. Wyke, apparently of Broseley. (The title-page is missing.) In it I found some lines on "Buildwas Abbey" that interested me for several reasons. In the first place the work is very much above the usual standard of forgotten local poetry. If the inspiration is not of the highest, the rhythm and craftsmanship are distinctly good. And then one finds in them a true love of nature that suggests a disciple of Wordsworth, and a wistful regret for the old Catholic times that reminds one of Wordsworth's "Rylstone,"¹ remarkable at that time in one who was probably self-taught.

It is true his imagination is occasionally erratic, even grotesque, as when he fancies a sound and asks

Is it the vesper hymn, by virgins sung
To well-tun'd harp or organ's dulcet notes? (p. 97).

Again he laments:

No more within thy walls shall organ sound:
No more within this choir shall virgins chant
The matin or the vesper hymn of praise!

¹ The following testimony is less known than it should be:

The next is Wordsworth, playful although grave,
Who, quoting verses seem'd almost to rave,
So deeply did he feel the truths he sung,
While condescending chiefly to the young,
And, like that other [Landon], saying things by speech,
Which his own writings did not always teach,
Confessing had he seen an earlier day
That he like some would have been found to pay
Obedience to that scorn'd, most ancient creed
Of which he owned he might have felt the need.

Kenelm H. Digby, "The Temple of Memory VI." (1875), 125.

Buildwas was not inhabited by nuns but Cistercian monks, and neither monks nor nuns warbled vespers to the sound of harps!

The following verses, however, are surely noteworthy:

Majestic pile! all that remains of thee
Is but the shadow of thy former self!
See the great tower of thy now roofless church
With lichen cover'd, and with moss o'ergrown;
Whilst fragments of thy thick and massy walls
Usurp the place where once thy altar stood:
Where solemn mass by pious priests was said,
And hymns, to heaven's eternal King, were sung.
There the faint echo mocks the raven's croak;
Or the sad wailings of the birds of night.
At close of day the bittern oft-times booms,
And scares the rustics from thy lonely shades.
The neighbours say, that in the moon's pale beams
A figure wanders, of no earthly mould,
Within thy hallow'd walls, in robes of white;
And when the early dawn appears—departs!

Since then the railway and "progress" have scared away folklore and tradition, while ignorance would seem to remain. I remember seeing in the year 1906 or 1907 over one of the arched transepted chapels, painted on an old strip of wood, the legend "Cells"!

With noble indignation our poet proceeds:

Good God! canst thou forgive the ruthless hand
Of England's cruel king? who even dar'd
Profane thine altars; lay thy temples low:
Thy faithful servants rob: then drive them hence:—
Far from their flocks and friends! Oh, yes; thou canst,
Thou canst forgive, through the great sacrifice
Made by the Son of God, for guilty man;
And yet be just. Amazing wisdom, love,
And justice, meet! Mercy, the brightest, best,
Of heaven's high attributes, is now display'd
By this great deed, in its most brilliant rays!

Unhappily, in this again like Wordsworth, he does penance for his Catholic outburst, by an anti-Catholic pendant, pompous and flat.

Yet let it not be said that England's church
Requir'd the aid of glitt'ring sword, nor yet
Of cannon's ponderous ball, to break, by force,
The adamant chains that bound her close
Unto the heavy yoke of papal Rome.

An accurate and loving observer of nature, he tells how a fringe of

Rich hanging woods, thy sacred site adorns
In which sweet Philomel delights to dwell.

In the author's "Notes," p. 120, we read:

The nightingale is found in the woods in the neighbourhood of Broseley, Benthall, etc., but it is said she has never been heard so far north as Shrewsbury! "In North Wales," says Goldsmith, "they are totally unknown." This appears singular, as Montgomery is considerably to the south-west of Broseley and neighbourhood, where they are found.

An old diary note of mine records that

on Wednesday 25 May 1910 I heard a nightingale at Buildwas. On Friday 27 May we heard one singing loudly (about 12 noon) just outside Ironbridge, near where the railway crosses the river. Last year a pair nested at Limley, near Bridgnorth.

Surely, after all, there are "mute inglorious Miltons," poets who never received due recognition, or perhaps never came to the knowledge of their great contemporaries at all. Many a nameless craftsman contributed to raise the great and little shrines of the exuberant Middle Ages. The literary world and its judges, in non-Catholic lands especially, are not always distinguished for humility or willingness to seek out and recognize humble talent, and as for the general public, very few of them read at all, for the imbibing of scare-headlines, "sporting items" and "football news" is *not* reading.

Quite twenty years ago I remember being amazed at the wealth of anonymous and beautiful English devotional poetry in the "Minor Poems from the Vernon MS." and cherishing the hope of making it better known one day to living readers. This has since been done by skilled hands, and those who are in a position to judge have spoken highly of their beauty and excellence. Yet they are anonymous, and were for centuries overlooked, while Chaucer, so often "impious and obscene," as Kenelm Digby was not afraid to say, passed for the sole literary artist worth consideration in England's mediæval period. The study of such work, says a good authority, "should abolish the practice of regarding verse associated with the outstanding names, and the so-called 'court-poetry,' as the only poetry worth consideration."¹

There are, I am persuaded, not a few hidden gems among the mass of forgotten and local poetry unknown to the literary world. It would be a worthy task for some scholar with the needed leisure to rescue some of them from oblivion.

Let me conclude by quoting one of the best achievements

¹ A. R. Waller, M.A., in the "Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.", 1908, Vol. II. p. 424.

of another poet, not quite unknown, but almost and undeservedly forgotten.

Dews that nourish fairest flowers
Fall unheard in stillest hours;
Streams which keep the meadows green
Often flow themselves unseen.

Violets hidden on the ground,
Throw their balmy odours round;
Viewless in the sun and sky,
Larks pour forth their melody.

Emblems these, which well express
Virtues' modest loveliness,
Unobtrusive and unknown,
Felt but in its fruits alone!¹

These overlooked verses may surely challenge comparison with the familiar lines of Gray.

H.E.G.R.

¹ Bernard Barton, "Poems and Letters (1853), p. 18.

II. TOPICS OF THE MONTH

France ruled
by
Freemasons.

France is in the throes of a serious financial crisis. The Government cannot pay even the interest on its war-debts, the franc hovers about the nineties, taxation, though far below what we are accustomed to bear, cannot apparently be increased, yet this is the moment which the French Government chooses to affront the Catholics of the world in the person of the Holy Father, and to revive the profound internal dissensions which the demand for unity during the war had stilled, it was hoped, permanently. M. Herriot got his vote in the Chamber for the suppression of the Vatican Embassy, but the folly and injustice of the step are so manifest as themselves to indicate what is otherwise well known, the subservience of the Government to the Freemason Lodges. We are told that there are no less than 242 deputies (out of 577) known to be Freemasons, and what is more significant, a majority of M. Herriot's Ministers belong to the same secret society. What Signor Mussolini is trying to bring under the law in Italy, has constituted itself in France the master of the Government itself. Here in England, it was felt to be an outrage on democratic principle that an extra-Parliamentary body, like the General Council of the Trade Unions, should even pretend to dictate Mr. MacDonald's choice of his

Cabinet, but the Grand Orient exercises an effective control over its members in the Chamber, who are bound to follow its guidance and are amenable to the jurisdiction of their various Lodges. Considering that the chief anti-clerical accusation against Catholics is that they are subject to a double allegiance, what is to be said of the Freemasons themselves who thus belong to an *imperium in imperio*? There can be little doubt that the three projects with which M. Herriot inaugurated his rule—the attempt to de-Catholicize Alsace-Lorraine, the enforcement of the iniquitous Law of Associations, and the suppression of the Vatican Embassy—all of them so detrimental to French interests, at home and abroad, took their primary inspiration from the Lodges.¹

**The Myth
of the
Lay-State.**

The Grand Orient, at any rate, is responsible for the grotesque conception of the Lay-State, the assumption that, because it is possible in fact to sever the natural connection between

the Civil Power and the Church, human personalities can be similarly divided, and the citizens treated as if they had none but material and earthly interests. But you cannot constitute a Lay-State until you get a nation of convinced atheists. So long as the citizens know they have souls to save, so long they rightly look to their Government to safeguard or, at least, not to jeopardize the interests of those souls. Liberty of conscience, freedom of access to God for worship and service, is the first of man's inalienable rights, and should be the chief care of every good Government. It is the worst form of tyranny for the Civil Power to trespass beyond its sphere and endeavour to coerce conscience, yet this has been the tendency of the Civil Power everywhere, even when it is nominally Christian. How the Church groaned under the yoke of Byzantium, under the patronage of the Empire! Luther broke with the Pope, God's representative, but he and all who followed him fell under the thralldom of Cæsar instead, and the fierce, illogical, intolerant spirit of Protestantism. Then revolutionary France set the evil example of the atheist republic, a depth of human iniquity never before attained in human history, even in pre-Christian times, and now the French Government, despite the contemporary "Terror" in Russia, is maintaining that evil tradition. The suppression of the Embassy is but part of the campaign against God to which the Grand Orient is pledged. But the horrible contrivance of the "lay-school," wherein, in France as in Russia, God's existence is denied, His laws derided, and the mind and heart of youth systematically corrupted, under pretence of religious neutrality, is the means on which the Lodges chiefly rely

¹ See, for a fully-documented indictment of Grand-Orient policy and practice, "La dictature de la Franc-Maçonnerie sur la France," by A.-G. Michel.

to bring about their impious end. And they have so far succeeded that once-Christian France has not in fact risen in flaming revolt against a rule which tramples on the most sacred rights of the individual and the family.

**Political
Impotence
of French
Catholics.**

Christian France has doubtless protested. Its prelates have let no Masonic outrage pass uncondemned. Catholics are organizing everywhere and uttering defiance against injustice.

But who put the Government into power? Are practical Catholics so few in France that their votes cannot secure a majority in the Chamber? Are there any other interests more important than those which concern their religion? It would seem that hitherto French Catholics have not combined to secure their proper Parliamentary representation, in spite of half a century of anti-clerical Governments. Perhaps these latest impudent attempts of the "lay spirit" to override their rights as men and Christians will do what the exhortations of Popes and Prelates have not effected, and produce an active and united organization amongst French Catholics which shall attend to the humdrum matters of voting-lists and electoral propaganda. The country abounds in magnificent *Œuvres Catholiques*, devoted to every variety of social, literary, artistic and religious service,¹ but we look in vain for any all-embracing association for the political defence of the rights of Catholics, which would do openly what the Grand Orient, few in numbers but fierce in fanaticism, does in secret. Many of the 314 deputies who voted for the suppression of the French Embassy to the Vatican must have owed their seats, if not to actual Catholic votes, at least to Catholic abstentions. It surely is illogical to complain of results which are traceable to your own free act. Anti-clerical legislation, *i.e.*, laws against the rights of conscience, has disgraced the French code ever since the 'eighties of last century. It began, strangely enough, just when the German Kulturkampf was finally defeated. If German Catholics could send Bismarck in the height of his strength to Canossa, what should not French Catholics be able to do to the puppet of the Lodges who is insolently flouting their rights as citizens, no less than as Catholics? He has had to draw back before the organized Catholicism of Alsace-Lorraine with its 24 Catholic deputies out of 25: surely the rest of the Catholic body can defeat his other unjust proposals, which, as do all attacks on conscience, injure the body politic as well as the individual.

¹ The bare enumeration of them occupies 18 closely-printed pages of MM. Bloud et Gay's excellent "Almanach Catholique Français pour 1925."

"Not French."

M. Herriot is not quite so offensive in his words and ways as "Père" Combes was, yet the taint of ill-breeding seems to cling to all anti-clerical action. Consider how this matter of the Embassy is being dealt with. Here is a bilateral engagement entered into with full accord by both sides and entailing reciprocal obligations, yet, without consulting the Holy See, without formulating any complaints through the ordinary diplomatic channels, without that courtesy of form which would be accorded to, say, the black Republic of Liberia, nay, after a false accusation made by a responsible minister against the Papal Nuncio in Paris, the Premier launches an attack, based on a scurrilous anti-Papal book, on the whole Papal policy during the war and on various administrative and disciplinary acts of the Holy See which in no case are any concern of a secular Government. If the French Ambassador had acted in Rome as M. Herriot thinks he should have acted, the Pope, we fancy, would have been the first to demand his withdrawal. For the Premier, in his despairing search for some argument against the utility of the Embassy, actually said that the French representative at the Vatican should have prevented the condemnation by the Holy Office of the Abbé Brassac's "*Manuel Biblique*," which he (Herriot) was good enough to declare *parfaitement orthodoxe*,—a strange function to assign to an official of a *soi-disant* Lay-State! The whole case against the Embassy as presented to the Chamber by the Government was a mixture of falsehood and futility little less objectionable than the open brutality of Combes. It well merited the outspoken condemnation uttered by the Pope himself as a policy which was "not fair, not generous, not French."

**Nowhere
Moral
Disarmament.**

We have always doubted the ability of the Allies to ensure by force the disarmament of Germany. The succession of weak coalition Governments that have ruled the Reich since the Weimar constitution was adopted may have been unable, owing to internal dissensions or the active and passive resistance of the Prussian and Bavarian militarist, to carry out the stringent regulations of the Treaty. Or it may be that the will was altogether wanting, as was to be expected since there was no attempt, either in the spirit of the Treaty itself or in the subsequent conduct of the Allies, to encourage the pacific elements amongst the German people. The disastrous attempt to extract reparations by force extinguished for a time the last chance of establishing a will to peace—that moral disarmament without which no material disarmament can be really effective or permanent—amongst our late foes. The peace-mind cannot be created

by force: all that force can do is to engender hatred and the desire of revenge. The Allies have done little to persuade Germany that, in accordance with the preamble of the disarmament clauses,¹ they are determined to brand aggressive war as a criminal outrage against civilization. Their war-budgets remain abnormally swollen. Amid talk of retrenchment their totals increase. If there were a real will to peace amongst them, their Statesmen would keep the League of Nations in continuous session until they had threshed out a scheme of security through disarmament and arbitration, and substituted, as Benedict XV. advised, "the moral force of Right for the material force of arms." But they show themselves much more concerned with arrangements for "defence" against each other. All that the boasted Washington Conference has effected is to divert the expenditure on battleships to other varieties of armament, and the Geneva Protocol which does outlaw war, whatever be its defects otherwise, is looked upon with suspicion and distrust. Is it reasonable in the circumstances, human nature being what it is, to expect the Germans to be very keen about dismantling their munition factories and disbanding their War Staff?

The Tables Turned.

Hating militarism, as every Christian should, we deplore the undoubted failure, due to whatever cause, on the part of successive German Governments to make a real effort to beat their swords into plough-shares, the more so that they could afford to do it now without prejudice to their future strength. And we welcome with corresponding gratitude the present Chancellor's declaration that his Government is absolutely determined to make good any failures to disarm which may be proved by the Allies. But in any case the Germans should not take it amiss that France should be so insistent on those terms of the Treaty being observed. Bismarck, in his day, was even more truculent towards the Third Republic, still in its cradle. Writing to the English Ambassador at Berlin in 1875, Lord Derby, the Foreign Secretary, says concerning Bismarck's threats of a second invasion:

Even here, and notwithstanding the sympathy felt in the main for the Protestant German Empire, the outrageous injustice of picking a quarrel with France because she does not choose to remain disarmed, would produce its effect. . . . The English public knows little about foreign concerns, but it does understand that hitting a man when he is down is not fair play.²

¹ "In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes," etc.

² "Life of Lord Lyons," Vol. II., p. 75.

These remarks were perhaps suggested by a previous report of the Ambassador sent a few days before to Lord Derby in which he says:

Moltke added that, much as he hated war, he did not see how Germany could avoid it next year unless the Great Powers coalesced to persuade France to reduce her armaments to a reasonable peace establishment.¹

Thus fifty years ago it was Germany that dreaded or pretended to dread her beaten foe, and resented any apparent return to prosperity in France. The whole diplomatic history of the time reeks with fear and falsehood, bluffing and boasting and deceiving, with Bismarck whom no one believed, even amongst his friends, as the arch-plotter, and war or the threat of war always behind friendly phrase and courteous remonstrance. Is Europe never going to have common sense? Are its peace-loving peoples always to be the pawns of scheming diplomatists and professional soldiers? "The world is not ready for peace," say the politicians. True enough, but instead of labouring night and day to make it ready, they devote all their energies to preparing for the next war.

**The Scope
of the
Geneva Protocol.**

The League of Nations in 1923 produced a plan for Mutual Assistance which the Labour Government rejected, because it suggested rather than discouraged an increase of armaments and a system of rival alliances. In October last, following on the intervention of the French and British Premiers, a new plan was passed unanimously by the Assembly of the League to give greater definition and force to the engagements already entered on by the signatories to the League, but it has not met with a cordial reception by the British Commonwealth and, even amongst workers for peace, opinions seem to be divided. If, as is contended, acceptance of this Protocol would mean the stereotyping of the present boundary-lines of the map of Europe, then certainly it would not promote peace. Peace, to be permanent, must be founded on justice, and there is too much injustice involved in the Versailles Treaty to make it a secure basis for European harmony. The League itself exists for the purpose, amongst other things, of resolving by negotiation and arbitration the various national problems created in the war-fevered atmosphere of Versailles and either restoring where possible the different irredentist groups to their own States or at least securing adequate protection for minorities. But in so far as the Protocol emphasizes the fact that war nowadays is the concern of the whole world and that no State may henceforth use

¹ "Life of Lord Lyons," Vol. II., p. 75.

this weapon quite irrespective of the interests of other States it deserves the fullest support. After all, the League signatories have already agreed (under Article 11) that "Any war or threat of war is a matter concerning the whole League and the League shall take any action which shall be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations." In a word, the solidarity of the world's interests is explicitly recognized, and implicitly it is held that no apparent sectional good should prevail over the good of the whole. Since the good of the whole demands the upholding of all real sectional rights, no national interest can suffer from this subordination.

**Peace necessary
for the
Commonwealth.**

Once oppression and injustice on any considerable scale have been banished from the community of nations, there is no individual interest that can in any way compare in importance with the common interest in peace. Peace means security, security means scope and material for social development, for the pursuit of the arts, for the conquest of nature, for the spread of Christian civilization. War always means a setback to civilization for, however righteous the cause, the method is savage and barbarous. The late war slew nine million men, wounded or debilitated thirty million more, and wasted upwards of 50,000 million pounds worth of the world's resources, besides demoralizing nearly every country that engaged in it and leaving behind it a legacy of distress, unemployment, ill-will and contention. And more than any other political entity, the British Commonwealth of Nations needs assured peace. The practical impossibility of framing a common foreign policy so as to meet sudden European crises is beginning to be realized. For, as a consequence of their acquisition of full national status, the Dominions, whose immediate interests are not identical with those of Great Britain, are no longer content to leave foreign affairs to the British Foreign Office. They have claimed the right to make treaties on their own account in matters which are not of universal concern, and to have their own representatives with foreign Governments. Yet they have no continuous communication either between themselves, or with foreign capitals, or with the home Government: the knowledge essential to a wise common policy, on which continued peace may well depend, cannot be furnished without a drastic change in the political intercourse between the six nations that form the Commonwealth. And war without such common policy would mean its dissolution. Consequently, the Statesmen of the Commonwealth should not lightly turn down the Geneva Protocol. The alarm as to its commitments expressed in many quarters seems to us excessive. Those commitments cannot be realized unless the

Council is unanimous, and Great Britain is a member of the Council. Besides, once the Protocol has been accepted, armaments are to be proportionately reduced and war is ruled out as a method of settling disputes. The Protocol does not become operative till armaments have been reduced: thus no nation with lessened resources will be able suddenly to invade a neighbour, and the rest will be bound to intervene to prevent any less sudden attempt. This means in effect compulsory arbitration in the interests of all, just because war is a universal evil.

**Vested
Interests
in War.**

We cannot blame professional soldiers or sailors for being interested in their profession and trying to perfect themselves by study and practice in its exercise. We cannot expect them, at any rate, to say—"the League of Nations is going to prevent war, therefore we'll take no further interest in our job." War is their business. But we others need not heed them overmuch. Our business is peace and the conditions of peace. Still it is always well to recognize the existence amongst us of those, whose interests, financial or professional, are bound up with the continuance of war,—if only that we may discount and discredit their influence on our minds. At this period of unparalleled trade depression, when less than 50 % of the workers are genuine producers of wealth,¹ a ship-builder has pleaded for the immediate laying-down of the seventeen cruisers considered as necessary by the Admiralty.² A cruiser costs little less than two million pounds and its "life" is about fifteen years! And a day or two before, as if to emphasize the unproductive nature of this expenditure, Field-Marshal Sir W. Robinson, at a service lecture,³ asserted that much study and attention were needed to be getting ready for the next war and that

in order to keep pace with the changing conditions millions of money had been spent in the purchase of material which had been scrapped as obsolete almost as soon as issued. Notwithstanding all these efforts, the next war would always be full of great surprises.

We do not think the crippled tax-payer and the dole-fed worker will regard this national waste with the same complacency as the gallant Field-Marshal. There are, we imagine, cheaper methods of insurance. But what a reflection on modern civilization his words convey!

¹ Statistics in *The Times*, February 21st.

² *The Observer*, February 8th.

³ *The Times*, February 5th.

**Socialism
Anti-Catholic.**

Do "Socialist" and "Communist" differ in kind or only in degree? Varying answers are returned according to the connotation of the first term. If Socialism denies the right of private property and therefore the duty of compensation when an owner is, for the general welfare, dispossessed, it is essentially the same as Communism. The right to own property, not merely personal and consumable, but real and permanent and in excess of individual requirements, is regarded in Catholic teaching as necessary for man's proper status and development, and for the well-being of the family. It is not an absolute right, but is limited in many ways—by the law of God in the first place, teaching the fiduciary character of wealth, and by human laws, directed to the good of the community. Still, however modified in its exercise, it is inherent in man as such and—it may be noted—becomes more characteristic of him as he grows in civilization. Accordingly, the common question—"Can a Catholic be a Socialist?" resolves itself into this—"Can a person deny the right to exclusive ownership as explained above and yet be a loyal member of the Church?" The answer is, plainly, in the negative. One may imagine circumstances, such as a widespread famine, in which the exercise of the right would be reduced to a minimum: one may contemplate a great extension of the present systems of nationalization and municipalization, but human welfare, based on the integrity of the family and the freedom of the individual, will always normally demand a considerable exercise of this particular right. The logical consequences of Communistic Socialism, consequences which are being actually applied in Soviet Russia, are excellently developed by Father Lewis Watt in his pamphlet, "Catholics and Communism" (C.S.G., Oxford: 1½d. post free; 3s. 6d. per 50 and 6s. 6d. per 100, post free), which should be widely circulated in industrial districts.

**Unchecked
Capitalism
equally so.**

An equally useful pamphlet might well be written on the question, "Can a Catholic be a Capitalist?" For Capitalism, like Socialism, is an ambiguous word, and is used to cover the ordinary blameless employment of surplus wealth to further production, and various forms of usury, which take toll of human necessities, and seek excessive profits. A Capitalist who employs sweated labour, who gambles with the nation's food, who treats his workers as hands and not as souls, who exacts excessive interest on loans, cannot certainly be a Catholic, for he is an oppressor of the poor and has made shipwreck of his morals if not his faith as well. Our denunciations of Communism should always be accompanied by denunciations of the injustice from

which it springs and which is an equally grave violation of God's law. The ownership of property, which, as Pope Leo teaches, should be as widely extended as possible, is grievously hampered by the fact that many own too much. It is not for the good of the State that the bulk of its inhabitants should be mere tenants on its soil, dependent on public charity for education, medical attendance, support in old age, etc.—a status due to the abuse of the right of private property. It may be difficult now to rectify things, but it will not become easier by ignoring them. We must never seem to condone usury, which is not merely taking payment for making an unproductive loan but involves also the exacting more than the "just price" for goods. As long as Catholics do not condemn the manifold iniquities connected with the use of property, which are as yet not condemned by civil law, Catholic teaching against Socialism, etc., will make little impression on Socialists.

**How
to check the
"Leakage."**

The pressing need of the foreign missions, as we have been frequently told, is Catechists, *i.e.*, lay men and women sufficiently instructed in the faith, whose work is to supplement the necessarily limited energies of the clergy and prepare catechumens for baptism or provide for the tuition of children and uneducated adults. It is a need not confined to the missions. Even in Catholic countries such as Ireland and Italy, there is much ignorance of the faith and its moral implications. The present Holy Father, in his desire to free the Catholic world from this reproach, instituted in June, 1923, a special Office in connection with the Sacred Congregation of the Council to look after catechetical instruction in the various dioceses, which sent, a year afterwards, a letter on the "Religious Instruction of Children and Youths" to all Ordinaries throughout the world, demanding periodical reports on this most important work. It is, of course, an integral part of all our school training, and is supplemented by special Sunday schools, but there is a universal sense, inspired by the sad and undoubted facts of the "leakage" from the Church after school years, that this is not enough. Hence the plan, sketched recently in two thoughtful and informative articles in our pages, of forming from the educated laity groups of catechists to assist the clergy in continuing tuition in the faith for children who have left school. If this is desirable even in Catholic countries, how much more so here where nearly everything that confronts the youthful mind in daily life practically denies what it has been taught as God's truth? At the moment when dangers to faith and morals begin to grow serious the school-free boy or girl loses guidance needed to interpret the phenomena of life and to put Christian principles into

action. In Paris, where the congested population altogether outtaxes the capacity of the clergy, lay-catechist "Escouades" or Squads have been formed which are actually at work in twenty-two parishes. This work is so akin to that of the C.E.G. that we can readily imagine members of that enterprising body, in their off-time, so to speak, lending a hand to their local clergy. After all their official title is "Catechists."

**Poor Country
Missions.**

Clearly if little or no "leakage" had occurred in the past or was going on now, our numbers in England would be much larger than they are. Although the happily-growing totals of conversions every year disguise the fact, our increase is not normal. As a lapsed Catholic is morally worse and harder to reclaim than one who has never had the faith, our first care should be to stop the leaks. But zeal does not end there. There is the multitude without, mutely demanding our succour. Bishop Glancey of Birmingham has lately called attention to the wonderful work done in the States by the Church Extension Society, founded about twenty years ago by Mgr. Kelley (now Bishop of Oklahoma), an inspiring account of which was given in our pages about a year ago.¹ The chief aim of the Society is to multiply churches and priests all over the States, but particularly in the rural districts. It has had wonderful success, as is related in Mgr. Kelley's enthralling book, "The Story of Extension," and by its thorough organization, it has brought permanent facilities for practising the faith within reach of a quarter of a million people in out of the way districts.

Relatively our need in England is almost as great. There are not, of course, immense distances to reckon with, but practically it is all one whether you are 20 or 200 miles from a church. We need to strengthen greatly our Catholic Missionary Society and the Poor Country Parish Fund administered by the Guild of Ransom, if the appalling dearth of centres of Catholic life throughout the country is to be met. There are, we are told 600 English towns,, with populations ranging from 2,000 to 10,000, without a Catholic church or chapel. The map which used to be published by the "Catholic Directory," showing all the Catholic centres in England and Wales, discloses far too many barren districts. Generations are being born and passing away who have never had the faith presented to them. Catholic Home Missions must be started, if England is ever to be converted or scattered Catholics preserved to the Church. In this work the co-operation of the laity is mainly financial—that lucrative form of investment known as "lending to the Lord."

¹ See THE MONTH, January, 1924, "The Story of Extension."

**Credulity
and
Superstition.**

The scandal caused by a Catholic who breaks the law of God or of the Church or of the land is an unconscious testimony to the fact that membership of the Church *should* imply a higher standard of morals than is possessed by those whose doctrine is not so definite and uncompromising. Along with the results of missionary zeal there goes unfortunately the reverse process—the impression caused by unworthy Catholics that the ideals and means of sanctification in the Church are not what they are claimed to be. We wonder which annual total is the larger—that of those who are led to the Church by the manifest goodness of her members, or of those who are turned away or held off by the failure of Catholics to exhibit fruits worthy of their faith. Of course this failure may be in some cases unconscious or blameless. The degree in which the faith and its implications are understood may differ almost infinitely. Grace builds on nature, but how varied may be the substructure! As Newman says:

There are the weak and the strong-minded, the sharp and the dull, the passionate and the phlegmatic, the generous and the selfish, the idle, the proud, the sceptical, the dry-minded, the scheming, the enthusiastic, the self-conceited, the strange, the eccentric; all of whom grace leaves more or less in their respective natural cast or tendency of mind.¹

Hence, in spite of their substantial unity in matters of faith, worship and discipline, the great variety of taste amongst even good Catholics and of practice amongst those who are not so good. Faith in some may degenerate into credulity; worship into superstition; discipline into Phariseism. Some very timely remarks by our bright little contemporary, *The Southwark Diocesan Record* for February, on what it calls "Amateur Canonization," calls attention to some very exotic forms of devotion which do not make for edification; strange cults of a kind which Father Thurston has frequently exposed in our pages. We are glad that in consequence *The Universe* has determined no longer to open its widely-read pages to extravagances of the sort wherein the chaff is more conspicuous than the grain. Gratitude for spiritual favours would find, we fancy, safer expression in alms to God's poor.

**No Divorce
in
Ireland.**

The *Church Times*, in an appreciative article, praises the Dail Eireann for restoring "the marriage law of Christian civilization" to Southern Ireland. But surely that law was restored, if it ever was lost, when Grattan's Protestant Parlia-

¹ Anglican Difficulties, IX. § 3.

ment was destroyed. Since the Union, if non-Catholic Irish-folk were ill-advised enough to seek divorce, they had to apply to the British Parliament for the favour, as the inhabitants of N.E. Ulster have to do still. Even so, they never had a *right* to it: Parliament might reject their petition at will. The Dail has rejected without a division the proposal, not to pass a divorce law but merely to enable private individuals to apply to it for a dissolution of marriage. The plea foolishly advanced by *The Irish Times* that this rejection is an interference with freedom of conscience was adequately answered by a Protestant member who said that it no more interfered with genuine rights than the laws against bigamy interfere with the freedom of conscience of Mahomedans living in Ireland.

**Drink-Traffic
in
Ireland.**

We have less praise for the Irish Parliament on account of its recent action in regard to Temperance reform. The trade is well represented in the Dail, the Government raises much of its revenue from the consumption of drink, the big brewers and distillers have subscribed heavily to the National Loan. So there was not much chance of the question being discussed from the one point of view of the national interest. Yet there is no country in the world that needs legislative reform of the Trade more than Ireland. The chief industry of the country is the manufacture of strong drink. During the last twelve years the great Dublin brewers, who are by no means monopolists, made an annual net profit of more than 2½ million pounds. The annual drink-bill has doubled since 1914: for every 260 inhabitants, men, women and children, this impoverished country provides one public-house, whereas in England the average is one for 415, and in Scotland one in 695. With immense difficulty a modest Temperance measure was lately passed in the Dail, but the opposition shown there has convinced many reformers that the only way to rescue the country from the grip of the Trade is by means of a Referendum. The country cannot hope for any real return of prosperity until the plague of excessive drinking, fostered by the provision of excessive facilities for drink, and by the persistence of an age-long, wrong-headed tradition of conviviality, is finally checked and brought under control.¹

¹ News-item taken from *The Irish Times*, January 31st.

ONE PUBLIC-HOUSE FOR 22 PERSONS.—In refusing an application for a publican's licence in respect of premises in Ballaghadereen, the Judge at Boyle yesterday said that the population of Ballaghadereen, including adults and children, was 1,600. There were 72 public-houses in the town, or one for every 22 inhabitants.

**"Anglo-Catholics"
and
Heresy.**

Nothing astonishes the Catholic more in regard to "Anglo-Catholics" than the readiness of these zealous men to condone heresy.

They profess to have a clear grasp of the Catholic faith, they know that to offend in one point is to be guilty of all, yet they are content to belong to a "school of thought," and imply, in spite of their professions, that other Anglicans have a right to their own points of view. All they plead for is tolerance for their beliefs and practices: it does not seem to irk them that the same "Church" tolerates views and practices contradictory of theirs. They have no sense of heresy.

These thoughts are inevitable when one contemplates the crisis at Birmingham, where the diocesan loses no opportunity of denouncing the "Anglo-Catholics" amongst his flock, not in words of kindly and paternal reproof, but with undisguised scorn and contempt, and where the "Anglo-Catholics," after some bold words of protest, have apparently reconciled themselves to defeat. After all, what redress have they? Bishop Barnes is their Father in God, the canonically-elected and officially-authorized exponent of Anglicanism in the diocese, and the source of jurisdiction. It is true that, from their point of view, he is an unbeliever in the chief dogmas of Christianity and that he considers that any Christian layman possesses sacerdotal powers as fully as does any Archbishop. They cannot help that, and apparently they do not want to. "Here is the marvel," says the "Anglo-Catholic" manifesto, calling for a truce to polemics about the Holy Eucharist,¹ "we have not broken away from each other, and *we do not wish to and do not intend to.*" St. Paul says: "The man that is a heretic avoid." "No," say these Birmingham Vicars, "let us rather invite him to receive Holy Communion with us." And this although they are supposed to believe in the Real Presence and should know, therefore, that unbelieving reception would profane the Sacrament. Here, indeed, is the marvel—that men who, as far as words go, seem to believe as we do, should so lack knowledge of the real nature of faith, and should be content, apparently, to suspend the teaching of truth for a year, in the hope that, in the meantime, contradictions would become reconciled. Correspondence in the *Church Times* shows that not only Catholics are astonished by these vagaries.

THE EDITOR.

¹ *Church Times*, February 6th, 1925; italics ours.

III. NOTES ON THE PRESS

[A summary survey of current periodicals with a view to recording useful articles which 1) expound Catholic doctrine and practice, 2) expose heresy and bigotry, and 3) are of general Catholic interest.]

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE.

Profiteering, The Sin of [Rev. D. Barry in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Feb., 1925, p. 123].

Religion and the "Modern Mind": a Survey [C. P. Bruehl, Ph.D., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, Feb., 1925, p. 202].

Transubstantiation: Essential meaning of unchanging Catholic Doctrine [Mgr. Moyes in *Tablet*, Feb. 7, 1925, p. 164].

CATHOLIC DEFENCE.

Albigensian Crusade, The [A. L. Maycock in *Catholic Gazette*, Feb., 1925, p. 49].

Frere Bishop, and History [Rev. H. E. G. Rope in *Catholic Gazette*, Feb., 1925, p. 36].

Herriot, M., his false theological presuppositions [L. de Grandmaison in *Etudes*, Feb. 5, 1925, p. 257].

History, Biassed ["Mediator" in *Catholic Times*, Feb. 21, 1925, p. 9].

Holy See and France: Anti-Papal Calumnies refuted [*Tablet*, Feb. 21, 1925, p. 240; *Civiltà Cattolica*, Feb. 21, 1925, p. 350].

Veuillot, Francis, and Intolerance; charge explained [*The Commonwealth*, U.S.A., Dec. 17, 1925, p. 144].

Weldon, Bp., and Catholic exclusiveness [*Tablet*, Feb. 7, 1925, p. 167].

POINTS OF CATHOLIC INTEREST.

Easter, a Fixed: question shelved [*Catholic Times*, Feb. 21, 1925, p. 4].

France and the Vatican: Reasons for Embassy [P. Lesourd in *Revue des Jeunes*, Feb. 10, 1925, p. 261].

Humanism, The Church and J. F. Leibel, Ph.D., in *Catholic Historical Review*, Oct., 1924, p. 331].

Lawlessness in U.S.A. growing since Prohibition [P. L. Blakely, S.J., in *America*, Feb. 7, 1925, p. 806].

Leakage, The, and the Remedy [Dr. Colvin in *Catholic Times*, Jan. 31, 1925, p. 8; Rev. J. P. Murphy in *Month*, Feb., 1925, p. 113].

Obscene Literature: Legal Remedies [R. S. Devane, S.J., in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Feb., 1925, p. 182].

Persecutions, Pagan, due to Church's independence of Civil Power [J. A. Higgins, S.M., in *Australasian Catholic Record*, Jan., 1925, p. 21].

Voltaire, a Character-Sketch [J. M. Gillis, C.S.P., in *Catholic World*, Feb., 1925, p. 577].

Zionism [Cardinal Bourne in *Messenger of S. H.*, Feb., 1925, p. 33].

REVIEWS

I—THE FOUR GOSPELS¹.

THE full course whereof this book is a part will consist of two volumes on the New Testament, two on the Old, and one of general introduction. The New Testament volumes are both completed, and indeed that before us is already in its second edition; the three other volumes have yet to appear. The work is essentially a scholastic manual, written of course in Latin, and mapped out in sections, with good tables of contents. The present volume consists of two parts, a smaller one which offers a preliminary introduction to the four gospels, and a main part, which is said to contain *adnotationes exegetico-practicae in vitam D.N.I. Christi secundum quatuor Evangelia*. We interpret the "exegetico-practicae" notes on the life of our Lord in the four gospels to imply practical exegesis and there is much that is really useful in these notes, for preachers no less than for students. Still, we cannot say that we feel satisfied with the work. It is evidently meant as a text-book for theological students, and it appears to fall short of what can reasonably be demanded. It is easy upon such a subject to fill a fairly large book with obvious and plausible and even useful notes; but when we scratch a little below the surface, we find the handling of important critical questions to leave much to be desired. Textual criticism, for instance, can hardly be said to be treated seriously at all, the best manuscripts appearing as little better than scholastic *adversarii*; an example is the question of the end of Mark (pp. 40-1), where it is not the conclusion but the general treatment of the question that is faulty. Among other things Father Cornely is quoted for passages that should certainly have been studied in the original writers (Eusebius, etc.). But the main flaw is that textual criticism is not treated scientifically at all; even if by any chance a full treatment is to be given in the introductory volume, the treatment of isolated passages here would still be very weak. And in the same way there is no scientific treatment of Biblical theology, no consideration of what the several gospels have to tell us about the person of Christ, etc. There is much else in what should be the critical work that prevents us from bestowing anything but faint praise. We do not wish to deny the author the credit of having brought out

¹ *Praelectiones Biblicae ad usum scholarum*, a R.P. Hadriano Simòn, C.S.S.R., S. Script. Lector, exaratae. *Novum Testamentum*. Vol. I: *Introductio et commentarius in quatuor Jesu Christi evangelia*. Altera editio. Torino: Marietti. Pp. xxxii., 652. Price, 35 lire. 1924.

a useful book; but the standard of Biblical studies within the Church is rising, and progress can only be maintained by a resolute though reasonable demand for competent scholarship.

2—THE INTELLECTUALISM OF ST. THOMAS¹

THIS work will require no introduction to those of our readers who are interested in the modern philosophic movement within the Church. When it first appeared, sixteen years ago, Père Rousselot's book was hailed as a penetrating and highly original study of the metaphysics of St. Thomas. We believe that the lapse of time will not be found to have seriously affected that judgment. There has been progress meanwhile in European philosophy, progress partly in the direction of Père Rousselot's ideas; but a full appreciation of Thomistic (or Aristotelian) Realism has not yet been reached.

Rousselot was, if not a man of one book—on the contrary, his erudition was wide and various—at least, the disciple of one master. His enthusiasm for St. Thomas was an intellectual passion. "*Ce grand esprit, océan d'intelligence, et abîme de naïveté, au sens le plus pur et le plus noble de ce terme.*" It would be difficult to find a happier description in so few words of the Angelic Doctor's essential quality. It was especially the intellectuality of St. Thomas that attracted Rousselot. The primacy of the intellect is for him St. Thomas's fundamental tenet, and he embraces it whole-heartedly. "*L'opération intellectuelle est la fin dernière de l'Univers.*" It is to the illustration of this theme that the present work is devoted. Many will probably be unable to accept some of the teaching of the book as an interpretation of St. Thomas; Père Rousselot, we fancy, was incapable of an absolutely colourless and impersonal rendering of the Master's thought. In that sense, he had neither the qualities nor the limitations of the ideal commentator; nor did he, in truth, ever try to cultivate them. Thus a very literal-minded reader may often doubt whether it is St. Thomas who speaks through Rousselot, or vice versa, or both. Enthusiastic discipleship will always have this drawback. But, whatever the defects of the method, this kind of interpretation is apt to yield results quite beyond the reach of any merely literal exposition.

Father Grandmaison's introductory memoir is a beautiful and affectionate tribute to the memory of the gifted author. It is sad to think of the loss sustained by Catholic scholarship when this young priest—he was only thirty-six—fell at Eparges in

¹ *L'Intellectualisme de S. Thomas*, par Pierre Rousselot, S.J. 2nd ed., with a Memoir by Léonce de Grandmaison, S.J. Paris: Beauchesne. Pp. 300. Price 10 fr.

1915. The brief biographical sketch reveals a spiritual and moral character of rare beauty and dignity. Especially can we admire in him the wonderful blending and harmony of the intellectual and the spiritual. For him all science, but especially the Science of Being, was the knowledge of God. Even in the miseries of the battlefield he found a consolation and a stay in the remembrance of his old studies. His own life was thus a vivid illustration of his favourite thesis, the supremacy of intellectual values, that "l'opération intellectuelle est la fin de l'univers."

3—A HISTORY OF LATIN CHRISTIANITY¹

THE day, we hope, is long since past when Catholic scholars or educationists would hesitate to include, as a part of Latin literature, not a few of the Patristic writings. Fifty years ago little in Latin was reckoned to be literature unless the author was a pagan. Then, in 1883, Talbot condescended to devote one page to the Christian hymns. Next, in the nineties, a change came over the critics. Jeanroy and Pusch, for example, in their *Histoire de la Littérature latine*, showed a marked appreciation of the Fathers. Finally, you get M. René Pichon boldly declaring: "It is as living, as interesting as profane literature. It is almost Roman and much more modern." To-day, even outside the Church, all scholars admit that the Latin Fathers make a direct and effective appeal to the imagination, that they deliberately attempt to satisfy, and succeed in satisfying, the demands of literary taste. Anxious as the Fathers are about the contents of the cup they do not neglect to set honey on the brim.

. . . Pocula circum
Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore.

Professor de Labriolle embarked, therefore, on a comparatively easy task when he sought to remove the last scruples that may remain concerning the literary merit of Patristic writings. He has certainly succeeded. No one can follow the development of the main thesis of the book without accepting such specific conclusions as these: "There is no dialogue of Cicero which surpasses in elegant grace the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix." Prudentius—the "Christianorum Maro et Flaccus" of Bentley—is "not far short of deserving to be called a great poet."

Yet the real defence of the Fathers, as poets and writers of prose, is not that their form comes near to classical perfection. That would be to set them on a level with the Renaissance

¹ *History and Literature of Christianity, from Tertullian to Boethius*. By Pierre de Labriolle. Translated by Herbert Wilson. With an introductory Foreword by His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet. London, Kegan Paul. Pp. xxiii. + 555. Price, 25s. net.

Humanists. They are interesting and valuable, from a literary point of view because, despite their rhetorical training and, therefore, their temptation to imitate the factitious puerilities of their pagan contemporaries, they were saved by their sincerity, their depth of soul, their passion for their themes, the profound philosophy of the Christian Faith. Once we rid ourselves of that dilettante humanism which finds its ideal in purely pagan perfection we shall recognize in Patristic literature a rich mine of ideas, a revelation of personalities which have abiding value, a new light on contemporary history, and above all, an admirable apologetic for the Catholic religion which has not lost its force for to-day. We shall wonder, therefore, why more is not being done to bring these texts, or portions of them, from the theological libraries into the class-rooms of our colleges.

Professor de Labriolle treats excellently of this Latin literature in general. He removes many old misunderstandings, as, for example, when he shows that the "religious ferocity" of St. Jerome's "*Per calcatum perge patrem*" is nothing but a rhetorical re-echoing of the "*ut ad hostem pervenias, patrem calca,*" which was a familiar tag from the *Controversiae* of Seneca. Very interesting is the sketch of the struggle between the timid intransigence of the early Christians, expressed in the "Lord, if it ever happen to me to read profane books, I shall have denied Thee," and the frank syncretism which was ready to assimilate all that was permanently valuable in pagan thought and expression. The bulk of the work consists in detailed studies of the lives and literary works of the Christian writers from the first translators of the Bible down to Boethius, on the threshold of the Middle Ages.

The book has an interest to others than purely literary students. Thus, the general problem of St. Cyprian and the Primacy is shortly but very suggestively handled. There are several admirable pictures which will appeal to the historian, as, for instance, of Arnobius, the convert of sixty, who knew his Cicero better than the Gospels, had little or no curiosity in regard to the "very Jewish" Old Testament, floundered somewhat among the theological proprieties, was rhetorical, verbose, ironical and apostolically zealous, yet, above all, sincerely pious in his desire "*ad Dominum rerum tota mente atque animo proficisci.*"

As to the grandiose scheme, of which this work is a part, we make no judgment. It is proposed to survey in two hundred volumes the whole field of human activity from its beginnings till to-day. We may doubt whether Catholics will find the other volumes as valuable as this one. Even M. de Labriolle has suffered in translation. Hardly a page is entirely free from Gallicisms. To translate *en revanche* by "in revenge," as on p. 219, is surely unscholarly.

4—ST. AUGUSTINE'S MASTERPIECE¹

DR. WELLDON presents this work "as a fruit of those deaneries and canonries" which will, he hopes and prays, always be maintained as homes of study in the Church of England. While we are content to see the wealth of the Establishment devoted to the endowment of scholarship, we cannot of course accept this fine edition of one of the most famous of patristic writings as a work of theological interpretation. We should take, for example, special exception to the very Protestant study of Sacrifice in one of the appendices, though Dr. Well-don's very interesting introduction to the whole work is much less open to criticism. We welcome, however, this first English edition of the whole of the *De Civitate Dei* as a fine monument of learning and a valuable aid to understanding an author whose language and style presents many difficulties to the student. There can be no question of Dr. Well-don's competence in that kind of commentary. Notes such as those on *insinuare*, Vol. I., p. 97, and on *proletarii*, Vol. I., p. 127, are models of their kind.

5—ECONOMIC HISTORY²

IN reviewing Vol. I. of *Tudor Economic Documents* we said that a short running commentary was required. The same need is felt in Vol. II., but beyond that it is open to no adverse criticism. The authors are to be congratulated on their excellent selection of documents. They have presented them in an orderly and interesting way. Incidentally they have also managed to infuse life and humour into a type of book which only too frequently tends to become dry as dust for all except the specialist. Especially interesting are the various parliamentary debates and the documents dealing with the reports of the early colonists in Virginia with their wonderful eulogies on the virtues of tobacco. On page 312 we find our own days and current evils foreshadowed in the wounded soldier, neglected by his country and charged with vagrancy before the local magistrate, whilst on page 337 we are given a curious picture of an Elizabethan Fagin with his school of pickpockets.

Vol. III. is an attempt to cover the matter of the first two volumes from other sources; these latter are what we might call

¹ *St. Augustine, "De Civitate Dei."* Edited with an introduction and appendices by J. E. C. Well-don, D.D., Dean of Durham. London, S.P.C.K. 2 Volumes. Pp. lxi. + 508 and 708. Price, 42s. net. 1924.

² *Tudor Economic Documents*, Vols. II. and III. By R. H. Tawney and E. Power. London, Longmans. Pp. ix. 369: viii. 486. Price, 15s. net each.

contemporary press comments upon the features portrayed in Vols. I. and II. The authors have chosen their documents well, giving both sides, whenever possible, to any disputed question, and thus in many cases casting new light on the policies and tendencies of the times. Especially noticeable is this in the question of enclosures. Many documents, however, are cited at too great length and tend to become tedious.

Whilst thus almost unreservedly praising the authors on their excellent and scholarly work, we cannot help noticing that they have by no means brought into proper prominence the economic influence of the monasteries before their suppression and the disastrous results to social well-being of that tyrannous act of spoliation.

6—ST. MARK

WE have already reviewed Père Durand's *Evangile selon S. Matthieu* in this *Verbum Salutis* series, and need not repeat at length the remarks there made upon the project as a whole. In spite of the publisher's claim that *l'exécution matérielle de l'édition est particulièrement soignée*, we find the get-up far from attractive, chiefly because the print is too small; the actual translation is printed small, the commentary smaller still, the notes on the commentary in type positively cruel where there is much to be read. The print itself is good, but it shows through rather too much, owing to the thinness of the paper. The book is worth far better treatment, for what is trying to the eyes is also trying to the mind.

Of course, the close print means that in these 400 pages and more an immense amount has been packed; the commentary is a full one—or perhaps it would be best to call it an exposition. Père Huby, who has brought out this particular gospel, is editor of the whole series, so that we can doubtless judge better of the general purpose of the whole series from the volume before us. There is no comment on individual verses, nor is there anything attempted in the nature of textual or philological treatment of the text, but after a paragraph or two of faithful translation, the exposition is continuous, running through the translation with historical, and to some extent doctrinal explanations, and a brief indication where suitable of some spiritual lessons. The exposition is well done, and should prove very useful to all who will take the trouble to read it, whether priests or religious or educated laity.

Unlike Père Durand, Père Huby quotes his authorities freely,

¹ *Evangile selon S. Marc*. Traduit et commenté par le P. Joseph Huby, S.J. Paris: Beauchesne. Pp. xx. 428. Price 14 francs. 1924.

so that his work has a real value for the scholar also. And indeed, he rarely neglects a critical question, but as a rule handles all in sane and solid fashion. If we may venture a complaint, it seems to us rather late in the day to dispose of the problem of the Last Supper with the remark that the Synoptists "seem clearly to affirm" that Christ ate the Jewish passover (p. 332); we should have thought the appendix to Mark in the *Westminster Version* at least put the matter in some doubt! But here the evidence is not even discussed. In the same way the difficulty of "the third hour" in Mark xv. 25 is not taken very seriously (p. 382), and alternative solutions are too easily brushed aside; one argument against a mere "compromise" solution is that what St. John places about the sixth hour takes place *before* what St. Mark places at the third. The remarks on the end of Mark (pp. 400-3) seem judicious, but perhaps not quite emphatic enough on the canonicity of the last verses.

In general, the volume is full of reliable and scholarly work, and so full in historical exposition as almost to serve for a life of Christ, as well as for an explanation of one special gospel.

7—MORAL THEOLOGY¹

THE three volumes now under review, together with the first volume already reviewed in the pages of *THE MONTH* (September, 1922, pp. 277, 278) complete a monumental work on Moral Theology by Father A. Vermeersch, S.J. Our readers probably know that the author is Moral Professor in the Gregorian University, Rome. What comes, therefore, from such a source and so erudite an author may be at once admitted to be of the best. The present notice of the three volumes of the work will be an indication of their contents rather than a detailed criticism.

The second volume contains sections on the Theological and Moral Virtues, including a lengthy treatise on Justice, the despair of Professors of Moral Theology. This treatise, besides dealing with fundamental and common principles, takes cognizance of the positive law of many countries. To take so wide a sweep is a stupendous task and one that would have been impossible for Father Vermeersch without the previous pioneer work of Aertnijis, Arregui, Crolli, Ferreres, Slater, Van Gestel. But we question the wisdom of endeavouring to grapple with the various European legal codes. Those who are acquainted with the elements of English law or of the laws of U.S.A. know the state of confusion and want of finality that are the results of case-made law. When, however, the author deals with ethics, theo-

¹ *Theologiae Moralis, Principia—Responsa—Consilia*: Tom II, III, IV. By A. Vermeersch, S.J. Beyaert, Bruges. Price 27 fr., 35 fr., 5 fr. 1923-4.

logy and canon law he is on his own familiar ground and his mastery appears on every page of the work. As might be expected he sheds light on the difficult matter of co-operation in another's sinful act—one of the most complicated parts of Moral Theology—and in dealing with the subject of scandal he avoids the excessive and unnecessary detail that burdens some of the older books. These two subjects, more than any others, afford material for subtle hair-splitting, no doubt ingenious but rarely useful in practice; and we are glad that Father Vermeersch, by avoiding such "casuistry," has helped to restore matters to their proper proportion.

On the point of the amount that constitutes absolutely grave matter in theft, we are glad to see that the author declines to follow some recent writers who seem to abandon both reason and authority in their treatment of it and thereby tend to harm social relations. It is a pity that authors do not always take the gold exchange value as the basis of their computations, a standard much more intelligible than the fluctuating paper money value. On the subject of a bankrupt's obligations the author thinks it possible, and we certainly agree with him, that law can free a *bona fide* bankrupt from all liabilities to former creditors. This is not the case, apparently, in all European codes. (II. 501.)

The third volume of this work deals with Clerics, Religious, the Sacraments, Sacramentals, Precepts of the Church, Censorship of Books, Forbidden Books, Canonical Censures. The treatise on censures is brief, since it is properly a matter for Canonists. In this volume there are nineteen historical appendixes, of great interest, contributed in part by Father Hansens of the Gregorian University and the Oriental Institute and Father de Moreau of Louvain. The author's explanation of "communis error" appears to us unsatisfactory; the opinion that the mere presence of a priest in the confessional can juridically and immediately give rise to "communis error" has much to be said in its favour, and if it be a sound opinion, it would get rid of a deal of anxiety. We fail to see why the Church does not wish to benefit a few individuals, or even one individual, by granting jurisdiction to a reputed confessor. We admit, however, that the weight of opinion is against us.

In the matter of reserved cases, the author admits that ignorance of the reservation of a sin probably excuses from reservation, but rightly, we think, maintains that this is inconsistent with the true meaning of reservation, which is simply a limitation of jurisdiction. One would have thought that the official interpretation of Canon 893 had given the death-blow to the opinion. On the question of "*copia confessarii*" (III. 317, 2) we do not think that the author faces the logical conclusion of an

admittedly probable view. If a penitent has an insuperable repugnance to all the confessors at his disposal, why will not the author admit that there is in the case no "copia confessarii"? For our own part we regret that this view has been defended by some modern authors, after Berardi and Génicot, for we are convinced that the opinion that excuses penitents in any such cases is very inexpedient and to our thinking not proven.

There is a difference of opinion on an official reply given as to whether the place in which a religious confesses, in virtue of Canon 522, affects the validity of the confession. The author (III. 486) has no doubt that it does. In the very disputed question of Penance being, on occasion, valid but unfruitful, the author adopts the affirmative opinion with some moderns, as Cardinal Billot (III. 569).

The author has wisely left to the fourth volume of his work the treatises on Chastity and on the Married State. From every point of view it is best to treat these matters in class as allied treatises. This volume gives a valuable introductory section on the physiology of sex, sufficient for practical purposes, though the pastor will certainly come across many cases of sexual aberrations, for a clear knowledge of which he will have to go to Antonelli, Gemelli, Sandford, Capellmann, and possibly some psycho-analysts as Brill, Brown, Valentin and others. The volume also contains sections on Chastity in general, the duties of betrothed and of married persons, the chastity of celibates, modesty and sex-instruction, all of these subjects being treated with admirable reticence and clearness. There is a full bibliography, serviceable to students, but even without it one would know that Father Vermeersch had read everything worth reading on his subject, vast as it is.

In conclusion, the learned writer shows throughout an independent judgment; he does not simply repeat what has been often said before. He has tried to treat the subject, where possible, from a new point of view, and has succeeded, we think, in giving Moral Theology a more dignified place amongst the sciences by adding a good deal about Christian perfection. The style of the author's Latin is crabbed; this, we fear, will deter many a student from using it—as one uses Noldin and Palmieri—readily and with pleasure. But it will long remain, we hope, a teacher's book. For that purpose it is the best work on Moral Theology of the very many that we have had occasion to study. We wish it every success and sincerely hope that the author will not allow anyone to spoil its value by issuing a summary. To say, as we do, that the work is worthy of the University at which Father Vermeersch is a distinguished lecturer and worthy of the *Museum Lessianum*, its attributed *locus originis*, is to give it great praise indeed.

8—THE CATHOLIC CONCEPTION OF THE STATE¹

NOT a few young Catholics who go up to Oxford read for Honours in History or in "Modern Greats." They are expected to learn something about the Theory of the State, and certain texts are prescribed. Thus boys from school make their first acquaintance with the subject from Hobbes' "Leviathan," Rousseau's "Contrat Social," or Mill's Essay on Liberty. Fortunately, there are tutors who poke fun at the horrors of the "War of all against all," but it is not every young man of nineteen who can see the joke. Besides, there is no joke at all in the insidious atheism of Rousseau and the dubious doctrine of Mill. A better compensation lies in the fact that Aristotle's "Politics" is prescribed, and Dante's "De Monarchia" may be read. In the "Politics," at any rate, there stands the sound proposition that man is *by nature* a social being; but that truth is mixed up with much that is pagan and unpalatable concerning, for example, education and eugenics. Only in Dante, of all these authors, do you find any idea that God has something to do with the State. In the splendid, but all too little known, passage which begins, "duos igitur fines Providentia illa inenarrabilis homini proposuit intendendos" (De Mon. Cap ult.), there is, indeed, a masterly statement of Catholic political principles.

Nevertheless, it is a pity that we have not in English any single work on the history of Political Theory which is at once so handy, so complete, so scholarly and so soundly Catholic as this excellent volume by Professor Steffes, which is one of the series of "Schriften zur deutschen Politik." The Introduction sets forth clearly the significance of the problems, and the gravity of our obligations, concerning the nature of the State. Then follows an analysis of the constitutive elements of political life and an *a priori* account of possible forms of Constitutions. The body of the book is divided into four main chapters dealing with the growth of political sentiment and theory in Germany down to the end of the eighteenth century, and then with the individual political thinkers who have contributed to (or confused) Political Philosophy in the last three centuries. Particularly interesting are the sections on the German "Volksseele und Staatsgedenke," and on the fundamental differences between mediæval and modern non-Catholic political principles, and the twenty pages devoted to the Catholic Conception of the State.

The English reader may find a lack of those concrete individual facts on which his mind dwells more easily than on universal propositions. The historical chapters leave the impression of an arid desert of blown sand. But out from that desert stands, like a rock, the teaching of the Church, defined, clear, strong, stable and coherent.

¹ *Die Staatsauffassung der Moderne*, von D. Dr. Johann Peter Steffes. Herder and Co.: Freiburg-in-Breisgau. 8vo. xvi. + 170 pp. 4.20. G-M.

SHORT NOTICES.

BIBLICAL.

WE have already noticed the third volume of Fr. H. Schumacher's **Handbook of Scripture Study** (Herder: 8s.) and can give equal praise to the present first volume which forms a general introduction. It is a summary of biblical study and treats of the Sacred Text, the Canon, the Apocrypha and Agrapha, Inspiration, etc. The Bible and the Comparative Study of Religions forms the subject of a very useful chapter, as also does a summary with comment of ecclesiastical decrees on the Holy Scriptures.

PHILOSOPHICAL.

The Rev. Professor F. P. Siegfried has accomplished a *tour de force* in compressing into a small volume of 370 odd pages the pith and marrow of the whole of philosophy. It seems an impossible task, yet a glance through **Essentialia Philosophiae** (Dolphin Press, Philadelphia, \$1.80) shows that it has been well and successfully done. There are definitions and analyses especially in the economic section which might be disputed, yet on the whole this little *Summa*, if thoroughly grasped, would bring order and light into the chaos of modern non-Catholic thought. An introduction of 30 pages in English discusses with the beginner the cognitive faculties and the laws of thought.

DEVOTIONAL.

The interest of the general public in devotional and "mystical" literature is by no means an unmixed blessing, and the children of the Church should not need to be warned of the danger of unauthorized editions and interpretations. Nowhere is the guidance and restraint of the Church's magisterium more necessary. We may be grateful, however, to Miss Underhill for her improved text of a well-known spiritual work, **The Scale of Perfection** (Watkins: 7s. 6d. net) which she has newly edited from MS. sources with an introduction. The text is the outcome of devoted study and competent scholarship.

M. l'Abbé L. Rouzit in his brochures, **La Mère** and **La Maison** (Téqui: 5.00 fr. each), has sketched the sources and developments of family life with characteristic feeling and fervour, illustrating his counsels by many vivid anecdotes.

Canon P. Feige of Meaux in **Hâtons-nous de devenir Saints** (Téqui: 1.00 fr.) comments in very earnest fashion on the text, "This is God's will, your sanctification," pointing out all that the human partner has to do, and can do, in the joint work of attaining moral perfection.

Mgr. Tissier of Chalons has written and spoken and published much on the spiritual life of women, yet still finds much to say that is fresh and stimulating. His latest book of conferences, **Les Femmes de bien** (Téqui: 3.00 fr.), 'develops the apostolic influence which good women all possess, and its source in prayer and good-living.

In the form of a **Catéchisme de la Vie religieuse** (Téqui: 2.00 fr.) Mgr. Lelong explains the nature and practices of the state of perfection in a way intelligible to all.

Nolite Timere (B.O. and W.: 2s. 6d.), written in French and Latin,

is the name given to a series of prayers and exercises made at Stonyhurst during a week's retreat and reflecting its different stages.

The second volume of Père Pourrat's elaborate history of the development of asceticism in the Church, the original French of which we noticed in January, 1922, has been translated by S. P. Jacques under the title of **Christian Spirituality during the Middle Ages** (B.O. & W.: 10s. 6d.). The learned author nowhere lays down precisely the time limits of his period, but associates his study with the great personalities and institutions which best illustrate it. Thus we have St. Bernard, St. Bridget, the Platonists of the twelfth century, St. Francis, St. Dominic, and the early developments of mysticism, true and false, in various countries. The book does not make easy consecutive reading, but will be invaluable as a work of reference.

CANON LAW.

Already Père Creusen's study of the Code as it concerns Religious—**Religieux et Religieuses d'après le Droit ecclésiastique** (Dewit: 7.50 fr.)—the first appearance of which we commended in March, 1922, has reached a third edition *corrigée et augmentée*. Law, whether canon or civil, is always subject to closer definition and wider extension, and the labours of many acute minds on any code must result in fuller knowledge; a disadvantage, doubtless, to those who purchase the first editions of a commentary, but one which is unavoidable. As an instance of careful revision, we note that the author has corrected a slight inconsistency which we pointed out in our previous review.

The only book, at least in recent times, written on the history of the Church's discipline on the Seal of Confession was hitherto that of Father Kurtscheid, O.F.M. (*Das Beichtsigel in seiner Geschichtlichen Entwicklung*). The book before us—**Le Secret de la Confession: Etude historico-canonique** (Beyaert: 10.00 fr.)—by Père Leon Honoré, will be a great convenience to those who do not read German. It covers the same ground as its predecessor and also adds something to it. The book opens with a preliminary chapter on penitential discipline in the first four centuries. This is too short to be really adequate and might have been omitted. It is hardly satisfactory in so far as it deals with the earliest history of auricular confession—a big subject. After this introduction Father Honoré traces the legislation and pronouncements, official and theological, about the seal of confession from the fourth century to the present day. Special attention is given to the question of revealing the sin of heresy or of high treason, provided the penitent be not betrayed—some theologians, as Father Honoré reminds us, held that this was allowable—as well as to the question of whether use of knowledge acquired through sacramental confession might be used by Superiors for the better government of their subjects. After pointing out the further precision given by the Code of Canon Law in its clear distinction between breaking the seal and the forbidden use of confessional matter which does not go so far, the author ends his book with a discussion of supposed cases of violation of the seal. Father Honoré is to be congratulated on a satisfactory and useful study which cannot fail to be of good service. In the heading of the first section of chapter iv. there is a misprint of "VIe siècle" for "XVIe siècle."

Father Fanfani, O.P., in *Le Droit des Religieuses selon le Code de Droit Canonique* (Marietti: 12 francs), extracts from the Code of Canon Law all that relates to nuns, *i.e.*, principally whatever is contained in Part 2 of Book II. This is dealt with and explained in a clear and orderly fashion. The explanation of what the Code means is further helped now and again by the solving of practical cases, some by the Commission for the interpretation of the Code. Needless to say, all will not agree with every opinion here put forward. The following remarks may be allowed. Can the consultors of Superiors be said to form a "juridical personality" so that the procedure as laid down in Canon 101, §1, must necessarily be followed by them when their consent has to be obtained? (p. 51). On p. 94 the author does not say whether the confessor called in in accordance with Canon 523 (in a case of serious illness) must be approved by the local Ordinary or not. On p. 95, although Canon 522 is correctly translated, an ambiguity is left in the paraphrase of the Canon which immediately goes before, wherein there is mention of "n'importe quel prêtre approuvé pour les femmes." At the end of the discussion as to how the place where the confession is made affects the validity of an absolution obtained in virtue of Canon 522, the author, we think, should have pointed out that because of the doubt in the interpretation of the law there can be no doubt in practice about the validity of the absolution. This book will undoubtedly be of great service to those concerned.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

One of the many promising young men who perished in the great war has recently been commemorated by P. Bonnetain in a lengthy biography. **Lieutenant Marcel Antoine, Officier et Apôtre** (Téqui: 7.50 fr.), was destined for the priesthood, but his studies were cut short by the call to arms in August, 1914. Soldiering became to him a sacred vocation, and he did his best to inspire his comrades with his own lofty ideals. A young scapegrace brother, who seems to have resented the kindly attentions of his exacting relative, adds a spice of more human interest to a somewhat over-edifying narrative.

Students of the early Jesuit Missions in the East will remember the controversies which arose concerning the "Malabar Rites" and the action of Father Robert de Nobili, the Apostle of Madura, in becoming a Brahmin in order to make his ministry more effective. The career of the heroic missionary and the vindication of his methods may be found in detail in Father Pierre Dahmen's recent study, **Un Jésuite Brahme: Robert de Nobili, S.J., 1577-1656** (Beyaert: 5.00 fr.), wherein full use has been made of all material, both ancient and modern, and the case, for and against, the rôle adopted by Father Nobili and his successors thoroughly examined.

NON-CATHOLIC WORKS.

Mr. R. H. Thouless, M.A., Ph.D., the writer of **English Theologians: The Lady Julian**, a psychological study (S.P.C.K.: 4s. 6d. net), is, he tells us, a teacher of "psychology by profession and a disciple of the Church of England to which Julian herself belonged." In spite of that initial assumption there is some very sensible criticism in the book, though based on a purely rationalistic and sceptical psychology, not at all that of the Church "to which Julian herself belonged."

The object of the lectures called **Devotional Classics**—Martha Upton lectures delivered at Manchester College, Oxford, by J. M. Connell (Longmans: 5s. net)—we are told, was to stimulate interest in the devotional classics, and we sincerely trust that the author's good intention was fulfilled. Considering their provenance we find these studies of books (chiefly Catholic) written throughout with marked insight and sympathy.

The Doctrine of Intention, by R. Ll. Langford-James, D.D. (S.P.C.K.: 3s. 6d.), is a careful and fair-minded examination, by an Anglican writer, of the views which have been held by Catholic theologians about the nature of the "intention" required in the minister for the valid administration of the Sacraments. The author ends by advocating, though apparently not with full conviction, the view of Catharinus, which few Catholics have supported in recent times. Anglican interest in the subject, of course, comes mainly from the bearing which they think it has upon the validity of Anglican Orders, though Dr. Langford-James studies it on its own merits and in other connections also. Speaking of baptism he commits himself to the strangely mistaken view that the Catholic Church has come to re-baptize its converts, even when it is *certain* that these have already been baptized with water and the right form, because it cannot be sure of the intention of the minister. It is unnecessary here to insist that the adoption of Catharinus' view would make no difference whatever to the Church's attitude towards Anglican Orders. The Abbot of Pershore, who contributes a preface to the book, seems to have realized this, since he quotes a passage from the *Apostolicae Curae* which, he thinks, expresses a view not very different, in practical effect, from that of Catharinus. The words immediately following his quotation should have suggested to him that Catharinus' view does not arise at all, since the rite itself is shown to have been so changed that even external intention is excluded.

FICTION.

Under the descriptive title, **The Sacrament of Silence** (The Sheldon Press: no price given), Noel Silvestre has written an interesting and beautiful story. The plot is that which might any day have its counterpart in real life—in fact we believe it has already had—for it tells of a young priest wrongfully imprisoned for a crime committed by one of his penitents, he being unable in any way to establish his innocence without breaking the sacred seal of confession. The characterization is good, and the book well written and constructed, containing many edifying thoughts of high spirituality as well as of deep insight. ". . . How often we try to manage for God, and how bitterly we are made to repent afterwards!" And again: "Oh these *dévotés*! Why should religion, which should stand for all that is generous and charitable, make women so petty and narrow and interfering?" The scene is laid in Brittany, and we are glad the author avoids that irritating mannerism so common nowadays when the scene of a book is in France of interspersing his dialogues with isolated French phrases. The sensational and highly-coloured wrapper is the only thing we would gladly discard, and it is easily done, from this delightful book.

The greatest stumbling-block in the way of writers of religious stories seems to be a tendency to resort to the aid of the supernatural on all and every occasion. Abnormal Divine intervention should surely be as

rare in fiction as it is in fact. The use of it not only signifies a great lack of art, but generally—unless wielded by a master hand—introduces an atmosphere of artificiality which altogether fails to carry conviction. In *The House with Dummy Windows*, by a Nun of Tyburn Convent (Sands and Co.: 3s. 6d. net), one might almost say that the supernatural has been applied with a trowel. This is a great pity, for two beautiful thoughts go to make the stories, "The One Who Stayed" and "Aunt Dorothea," and these would have been developed with greater effect had not the author arbitrarily introduced the supernatural element. We live by faith but not by credulity. We hope the author will not handicap her undoubted talents by such literary devices. Apart from that blemish the tales are interesting and edifying.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Were it only for its exquisite illustrations—line engravings, wash-drawings and half-tones, all beautifully reproduced—Mr. E. Tyrrell-Green's volume on *Parish Church Architecture* (S.P.C.K.: 8s. 6d. net) would be a treasure worth acquiring. But the illustrations are merely accessory to a very learned and exhaustive treatment of the subject by an architectural expert whose *Towers and Spires* has already witnessed to his competence. An idea of the fullness of Mr. Tyrrell-Green's survey may be gathered from the fact that about 2,500 churches in nearly every county of England and Wales are considered in one way or another in his volume, and over 300 in the rest of the British Isles and abroad. After tracing the influences which inspired the plan of the traditional English church—a compromise between Celtic and Roman, and incidentally pointing the usual Anglican antithesis between the Celtic and Roman types of Christianity—as if the Celts were ever ecclesiastically independent of "Rome"—he traces the successive appearance of the various "styles" and their combinations in the parish churches of the country. Nothing seems wanting to his treatment except a more open recognition that the pre-Reformation Church was primarily the House of God and the Shrine of Eucharistic Worship. He quotes, indeed, the significant words of Wren, who distinguishes between churches built for sacrifice and churches built for preaching, and otherwise shows himself sensible of the results of the Reformation, but a Catholic would naturally have emphasized the relation of altar and sanctuary to the rest of the building. However, we are not disposed to complain of defects when there is so much to praise and admire.

As time goes on and the world learns more sense, such works as M. Maurice Vaussard's *Enquête sur le Nationalisme* ("Editions Spes": 12.00 fr.), of which an account was given in our April issue last year, will have more and more value. For the compiler's object was to bring together the best Catholic thought of the time on the one great problem emphasized by the war—how to reconcile the legitimate development of national interests with the higher good of humanity. It is the problem which has been solved in every civilized community wherein individual liberty and welfare is conditioned by what makes for harmonious social life, but hitherto the individualism of nations has not been successfully brought under the rule of law. It is well that such an investigation should have been set on foot and finally published in France, where

love of "la patrie" has sometimes been elevated into a sort of religion. We have not forgotten, nor can we forget, the quite un-Catholic outburst of a French prelate a few years ago—"France d'abord, et après, s'il se peut, la paix du monde" (reported in *Les Amitiés Catholiques Françaises*, March 15, 1923). Happily, there is little trace of that spirit in the volume before us, and none at all in the contribution of the prelate in question. M. Vaussard does not attempt the impossible task of condensing the Catholic mind on this vast subject into a series of undisputed propositions: the time is not yet ripe for such a formulation and the Holy See in any case must take the initiative, but he has done immense service to the cause of international peace by bringing together such a representative body of Catholic opinion.

A subject which has more than once been ventilated in our pages, the question of Catholic Education in Canada, is elaborately discussed in the doctoral thesis submitted by the Rev. D. A. MacLean, M.A., S.T.L., to the faculty of the Catholic University of America, at any rate so far as regards the western provinces. Dr. MacLean calls his paper *Catholic Schools in Western Canada: their Legal Status* (Extension Print: Toronto) and provides in effect a history of Catholic education in those parts. It is comforting that he speaks hopefully of the future of religious education.

The store of good Catholic literature is constantly increasing yet the day is not growing longer or less-crowded. There may be danger, therefore, lest the later goods should prove an enemy to the earlier, and much precious work be lost simply because it is forgotten. Hence particular welcome is due to the enterprise which Father J. C. Reville, S.J., is sponsoring of republishing in a handsome format and at a moderate price a "bookcase series" of Catholic classics which will keep in mind for the inspiration of the present the wit and learning, piety and wisdom of our ancestors. The six volumes which have reached us comprise ascetical works such as Father Nepveu's *The Spirit of Christianity*, here translated from the French by Charles Fairbairn, and the older and far more famous *Introduction to the Devout Life* of St. Francis; novels like Manzoni's *The Betrothed*, and George H. Miles's less known *Truce of God*; memoirs like those in Silvio Pellico's *My Prisons*, and finally the essays of Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore, which are called *The Church Culture and Liberty*. All these books are furnished with introductions which give them their literary and historical setting, and some account of their authors, and they are issued at the uniform price of 5s. We wish the undertaking every success and trust it will maintain the high standard with which it has begun.

In November, 1922, *THE MONTH* contained a stimulating account of the "Week," held at Tilbourg in the preceding September, concerned with Religious Ethnology, that study of the development of the religious idea amongst the peoples of the earth in the past and the present. In the course of 1893 the *Compte rendu* of this *Semaine d'Ethnologie religieuse* (Maison SS. Augustin, Enghien: 26.00 fr.) was published, and if we have been slow to advertise its importance our previous account of the proceedings may be pleaded in extenuation. Here then we need only say that the student of comparative religion will find in this collection of learned and practical papers material of first-rate importance to his subject, and a conclusive proof that Catholics, so well equipped through

the Church's missionary zeal with means of information, have now little to learn from savants of other faiths. These lectures, we may safely say, contain more real research and profitable historical truth than a forest of mythical "golden boughs."

The Chilswell Book of English Poetry, annotated for the use of schools (Longmans: 6s. 6d. net), is yet another anthology, this time compiled by the Poet Laureate himself and graced with a characteristic preface. Whether adopted largely as a school-book, which we take leave to doubt, or not, this poet's choice of poetry should interest us all.

An admirable example of Mr. Mackail's criticism, at once learned, delicate, subtle and profound, is to be found in **The Pilgrim's Progress** (Longmans: 3s. net), a lecture delivered at the Royal Institution in March last year. Mr. Belloc somewhere asks of a perfect line how Shakespeare "brought it off." Mr. Mackail makes us feel the same wonder at Bunyan's unerring art.

In the preface to **Selections from the Latin Fathers, with commentary and notes** (Ginn and Co.: 7s. net), the editor, Father Herbert of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, calls attention to the renewed interest taken by classical students in patristic Latin, and the likelihood that some knowledge of the great patristic writers will shortly be required in the curricula of the schools. His book may be regarded as a contribution towards this hoped-for result. It contains selections from nine of the most eminent Latin Fathers. The type of passage chosen may be gathered from one or two examples. From Tertullian we have the noble letter *ad Martyres*; from St. Leo the Great *Sermo xii.* on Fasting, and the great eulogy of St. Peter and St. Paul (*Sermo lxxxii.*); from St. Augustine, with other passages, the account of his mother's death at Ostia. The work is intended for students in the first year of their University course, and the commentary and notes have their needs in view. We believe that in the United States students go to the University somewhat younger than is customary with us. Hence the standard aimed at would probably correspond to that of the higher classes in our boarding-colleges. The editor expressly disclaims any desire to supplant the classics, but declares his wish to be "to supplement and enrich the studies of the youth aspiring to the classical degree." In our opinion such a work should serve a very useful purpose. The tradition at our public schools and Universities, as Professor de Labriolle points out in his "Latin Christianity," has been to recognize no Latinity as tolerable save that of the Augustan age. It is most desirable that this narrow outlook should be set aside, and nothing could be more conducive to that end than to put into the hands of students selections from Latin writers who were masters of their language, but who handled it in a manner quite other than the Augustans. There can be excellent Latin prose which is neither Ciceronian nor Tacitean. Whether our English colleges will be able to avail themselves of the book must be doubtful. The bondage of public examinations is more severe here than in America. And the colleges in which boys are preparing for a public examination must accept the authors prescribed, and cannot afford to extravagate into other fields. But at the Universities, at least, we may hope that it will not be long before our St. Jerome and St. Augustine are included among the authors to be studied.

The Teacher's Year, by Charles Phillips (Kenedy: \$1.75), is a book that we would like to see in the hands of every teacher, whether religious or layman. There are in it "no exploitations of the latest fads," but, rather, a cry with President Wilson that, "we have been trying a series of reckless experiments instead of educating." The book shows that there are wide differences in the practical every-day work and circumstances of teaching in our own schools and in the Catholic schools of the States, but the Catholic ideal of the teacher's vocation and work is universal like the Church itself, and we know of no other book that gives as sanely, and clearly, as this does, the ideals that should animate our teachers. Those ideals are the highest, but the writer does not make them inaccessible. It is a book that could be fruitfully studied in our Training Colleges.

A book we have long been waiting for is that compiled—at the cost of immense and persevering labour—by Mr. Arthur Preuss of St. Louis, namely, **A Dictionary of Secret and Other Societies** (Herder: 14s.). No priest, and certainly no Catholic editor, should be without it. Association is natural and beneficial to man, but when it becomes secret, either in aim or methods, it is apt to become a curse rather than a blessing. The compiler, who has collected his material for several decades, deals with "Masonic Rites, Lodges and Clubs: Concordant, Clandestine, and Spurious Masonic Bodies: non-Masonic Organizations to which only Freemasons are admitted: Mystical and Occult Societies: Fraternal, Benevolent and Beneficiary Societies: Political, Patriotic and Civic Brotherhoods: Greek Letter Fraternities and Sororities: Military and Ancestral Orders: Revolutionary Brotherhoods, and many other Organizations," but does not include specifically Catholic societies with ecclesiastical approbation, which are not secret or secular in their interests. The Dictionary reveals amongst other things the strange follies to which the human mind is subject, for many of these societies are ludicrous in their rites and objects. Many were plainly ephemeral and are now obsolete. We dare say that European readers can supply omissions in the list, and the Editor, who has drawn mainly on America, would be glad if they would do so.

MINOR PUBLICATIONS.

Cardinal Bona's famous little ascetical treatise, **De Sacrificio Missae** (Marietti: 2.00 l.), is issued in a handy format for the use of priests by P. Marietti of Turin. It has reached, presumably in this edition, its 48th thousand.

The Golden Jubilee number of **Revista Catolica**, a weekly review conducted from El Paso, Texas, by Fathers, S.J., of the Mexican Province, has reached us, full of interesting matter, besides that occasioned by the event, and copiously illustrated. It seems to be quite alive to the needs of time and place.

Grumbling Thumbs (Burt and Co., Alfreton: 1s.), by Mrs. M. M. Foster, is called a "nonsense story," but it is prettily told and conveys a most wholesome and necessary moral.

The regulations and conditions of the Roman Jubilee are to be found set forth and discussed by Father Louis Fanfani, O.P., in **De Jubileo seu Anno Santo** (Marietti: 1.00 l.), in a neat little pamphlet, which will be found useful by confessors and conductors of pilgrimages.

After the account given lately by Bishop Barnes of that synthesis of heresies, called "Liberal Churchism," we need say no more of the pamphlets—**Papers in Modern Churchmanship**—in which its point of view is exposed and which are published by Messrs. Longmans at 3d.—of those at least, the first three or four, that we have seen,—than that they are wholly subjective and rationalistic in tone and make the human mind the measure of truth. They are of no interest to those who are taught by God through His Church.

The little account of **St. Antony**, the first hermit (S.P.C.K.: 2d.), written by the Rev. W. K. Lowther Clarke, B.D., is somewhat too apologetic in tone for Catholic taste and too vague in its appreciation. But the author is evidently full of sympathy with his subject and does his best to make him acceptable to a self-indulgent generation.

The little booklet on **Authority** (Longmans: 9d. net), by Bishop Strong of Ripon, states with admirable clearness the nature of authority in arriving at truth but fails at the end to assign it any definite place in the search for religious certainty. He appears to think that *de facto* the individual guidance of the Holy Spirit is in the long run the means provided by God.

The interesting account of **John Lingard**, the historian, printed by Father John Fletcher in January's *Dublin Review* has been republished by the Lingard Society as the first of a new series of its Proceedings. It will serve to spread the fame of one whose full contribution to the renaissance of Catholicism in England is not yet appreciated.

The long depleted Catalogue of the C.T.S. is beginning to regain its old dimensions although even so it will be far from containing the whole cycle of Catholic Truth. Amongst the latest issues of twopenny pamphlets are **The Making of a Priest** and **A World-wide Crusade**, both by Father Henry Browne, S.J. The former is a vivid description of the wonderful work accomplished at Osterley for the saving of late vocations to the priesthood and the fostering of those which would otherwise be fruitless for want of material assistance. The latter describes another spiritual work connected with the same establishment—the Knights and Handmaids of the Blessed Sacrament. The spread of this Crusade over the whole Catholic world is a proof that it is not necessary to go outside the main devotions of the Church in order to excite enthusiastic service.

The pamphlet entitled **The Question of the Holy Places**, reprinted from *The Tablet*, is an apposite and authoritative statement on a subject clouded by much political and partisan wrangling, and sets forth the policy of those representing the Catholic Church regarding those sacred shrines and monuments.

Several useful reprints have also been issued, e.g., **The Resurrection of the Body**, by Father McNabb—a refutation of Modernist heresies on the subject; **The Blessed Sacrament**, by Cardinal Manning, an eloquent exposition of Catholic teaching and faith, and **Martin Luther**, by A. H. Atteridge, a sober but very deadly sketch of the arch-heresiarch.

A leaflet on **Indulgences**, in the Catholic Action Society series, will be found especially useful during the Holy Year.

The first three issues for 1925 of **The Catholic Mind** (America Press: 5 cents each) contain much useful information about the Holy Year, about Intolerance in U.S.A., and about the Missionary Work of the Church.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

ALLIED NEWSPAPERS, Manchester.

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